

ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY OF

Vedic Terms

VOLUME

2



SWAMI PARMESHWARANAND

The Dictionary of the Vedic terms is a comprehensive information of vedic terms and terminology with a view in making vedic study more interesting and research oriented. Numerous books have been written in the Vedas and its subsidiary literature by authors who takes it for granted the reader is already familiar with the significance of important terms and concepts acquiring in the text. But this assumption is not correct. The Vedas is not for scholar or pundit but also for the common man for whom it is not possible to refer to scholarly books. This dictionary has been prepared after consulting dozen dictionaries and encyclopaedias on the Hindu literature, history, science, political life, prepared by imminent scholars.

Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Vedic Terms

Volume-2

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Preface

An authentic, outstanding and wide informative double volumes “Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Vedic Terms” is compiled, edited and arranged all important terms and terminology of Vedic religio-cultural and literary tradition in alphabetical order by a leading Vedic scholar who has recreated with all the splendour and mystery of vedic literature.

The need for new dictionary on vedic terms and concepts that would meet the requirement of contemporary readers and research scholars, has been recognised. This Dictionary attempts to make a more contribution to the literature on Vedas with a view in making its vedic study more interesting and research oriented. Though numerous books have been writtten on vedas and its subsidiary literature by way of commentaries, translations and other research works by scholars who take it for granted the reader is already familiar with the significance of important terms and concepts occurring in the texts. But this assumption is not correct. The Vedas are not only for scholars and *Pandits*, but also for the common man, for whom it is not possible to refer scholarly books. My Dictionary, thus, meets a real need of contemporary readers and research scholars.

This Encyclopaedic Dictionary is vast collection of entries dealing with various aspects of Vedas: psychology, philosophy, religion, socio-economic aspects, cosmology, ethics, mythology, symbolism, art and architecture, ascetic practices of purification, language and literature—canonical and non-canonical, metaphysics and physics, building architecture, fasts and festivals, rites and rituals, tantricism, sacred vedic centres, monks and nuns, cosmic spirit, social, political, economic and cultural geography, eschatological concept, chronology

and history, solution of environmental crisis and peaceful coexistence of human being.

More than an academic exercise, this encyclopaedic Dictionary represents a vast range of sources of both published as well as unpublished materials. In presenting this work. I can not refrain from expressing my profound gratitude to those scholars whose works made this work easier.

It is a pioneering attempt to provide a comprehensive research and study of the Vedic religio-cultural and literary tradition. This Encyclopaedia is vast collection of several renowned scholars. This series is for the benefit of the students, teachers, and research scholars as well laymen who wish to know the key aspects of vedic terminology. The editor has brought here his keen experience in advance research on vedic literature.

Editor

M

Magic Power of Knowledge

It required only a slight extension of this to arrive at the notion that if we can only 'know' the one principle of the whole universe, the one which is to be *identified* with 'all', with everything that is, we shall then control all, and be able to deal with the universe as we please.

To understand the implications of 'knowing' this, or anything, in the Vedic age, we must understand the mystic, *magic power* which in the Vedic age, we must understand the mystic, *magic power* which was then attributed to 'knowledge' as such. Incidentally, this will explain why so large a proportion of Vedic speculation is contained in the Atharva Veda, a book of magic charms. Many have found this association strange. But actually the two are fundamentally one in spirit.

It is a commonplace of Atharvan psychology that *knowledge* of the end to be gained is a prime means of gaining it. 'We know your name, O assembly!' says AV.7.12.2, in a charm to get control of the public assembly. 'Have grasped the name of all of them,' says a medical charm, AV.6.83.2, of the sacrofulous sores it intends to cure. No more fundamental idea can be found in the whole range of Atharvan magic.

We meet the same idea, clearly and insistently set forth in innumerable expressions, in the Brahmanas (p. 17). In their view of the ritual, 'the *knowledge* of a procedure, its psychic image, is magically connected with the procedure itself. The knower, precisely through the fact that he *knows*— not because through his knowledge he *acts* skilfully and correctly but by reason of the power of the knowledge in itself...— possesses power over the entity or event known. It is, therefore, even said to be unnecessary actually to perform a rite. If you know it, you have as good as performed it. That is, you can be sure of the benefits which are promised to the performer. And furthermore, ignorant performance, that is mechanically going through the motions without true knowledge of their esoteric meaning, does not bring the desired result. That is why the vast bulk of the Brahmana texts is devoted to explaining the mystic or magic meaning of various elements in the ritual. We constantly find in them, after such an explanation, that he who 'knowing thus' (*evam vidvan*) performs the rite, gets such and such a benefit; or, more directly and simply, that he 'who knows thus' (*ya evam veda*) gets the benefit. That this doctrine in its extreme form is dangerous to the perpetuation of the actual performance, is obvious. All the more impressive is the fact that despite their absorbing interest in the rites, the Brahmana texts frequently do not shrink from drawing this conclusion.

It might seem to follow from this that the speculative activity of this period belonged to the popular sphere represented by the religion of the Atharva Veda, more than to the ritualistic cult that was the heir of the Rg Veda. But I think there is evidence to the contrary. However appropriate to the spirit of the popular religion it was in some important respects, this activity was carried on mainly by the priests of the hieratic ritual. And this fact, which for various reasons, seems to me indubitable. Finds a striking concrete expression in a philosophic term, developed in this period, which deserves special consideration.

Mahanagni

The Vedic people knew of any such goddess. It is difficult to give an exact copy of the goddess in the Vedic pantheon; but even granting the fact of the absence of idol-worship of terracotta offerings in the early Vedic period, the Vedic religion had developed the concept of the "Great naked woman", the Mahanagni, as early as the period of the *Atharvaveda* (AV) some hymns from which are known to form part of the Khila hymns of the *Rgveda*. At one place in the AV, Mahanagni (another reading is Mahanaghni, but only at this place) is alluded to in the mantras in the context of marriage; and the gods Asvins are invoked to protect the bride by their power by which they got sprinkled the genitals of Mahanagni (AV XIV.1,36 *yena mahanaghnya jaghanam...abhy' asicyanta*).

In the same context we have some ritual-detail; for, along with the genitals of Mahanaghni, wine and the dice are also referred to have been sprinkled (Ibid. *yena va sura yena aksa abhy' asicyanta*). This will indicate that the sprinkling of the genitals of the Mahanagani, together with the wine and the dice probably formed some sort of a ritual; and, very probably, it was done for prosperity; it is the ritual-belief of the propitiation of this naked goddess that further entered the ritual of marriage, as a charm for the happy married life for the bride. However, the propitiation of Mahanagni is not exclusively associated with marriage. It was a much wider practice, and was extended to the ritual of marriage. The indication is to be found in another context, where we have some more details and a probable ritual. The *mantras* that refer to Mahanagni are traditionally incorporated in those that are called *ahanasyah*; and this term has a peculiar connotation. They symbolised coitus, and their recitation was indicative of the completion of coitus, when actual coitus was substituted by a purely symbolic one.

There is a slight difference between the *mantras* of the AV and those from the RV-Khila, but the theme is the same; and

we may note the most prominent features thereof: Mahanaangi is told that 'he' is roaring, being unsatisfied; she should be easy, and lift her thighs (*RV-Khila* V.22.6; *AV* XX.136.5 with variant reading). Mahanagni strides over the mortar and says, "As do they pound you, so do they mine" (*RV* Ib. 7=*AV* Ib. 6). Mahanagni rinses the "cock" with the wooden peg (*TV* Ib. 8 = *AV* Ib. 10 *mahanagni krakravakum samyaya pari-dhavati*); and now, the singer says that he does not know, "the beast carries the woman by head!" (*AV* Ib. 10 *ayam na vidma, yo mrgah sirsna harati dhanikam*; *RV* 8 has it as, "This bamboo-stic (*tejanam*) we do not know; the woman *dhanaka*) becomes "endowed with the head" (? *sirsna bhavati dhanaka*). Mahanagni says, "Well is the *membrum virile* entered; of the 'tree having such fruit' may we gainbasket after basket" (*AV* ib. 9 = *RV* Ib. 5, with the difference that in *RV* at ab we have "the organ of the horse has entered").

Then we have reference to the male partner of Mahanagni, who is called Mahanagna. This is what is said: "Mahanagni runs after Mahanagna, who runs (or, "rinses" Mahanagna who 'rinces' her," *dhavantam anu dhavati* 'where the sense seems to be twofold, including the sexual); (and says), "These his cows, protected them; 'enjoy' me; 'eat the moist one' (*AV* Ib. 11 = *RV* Ib. 9)", where the sense is clear, and the eating of the "moist one," is to be understood with "enjoy me" (*yabha mam, addhy, 'odanam*), the whole concept being of the sex-act as a charm for the protection of the cows. There are also other references to Mahanagni in the *AV*, which do not occur in the *AV-Khila*: "The *sudeva* presses you, Mahanagni!" and "the *a-deva* presses you, Mahanagni!" (14"); and at both the places we have, "The dig of the Great is great".

From what we have noted above, the following aspects of Mahanagni become clear:

- (i) As a single goddess she is the norm for all feminine charm, and is associated, in the *mantras*, to bless the bride;

- (ii) It is probable that dice and wine are associated with her as ritual-objects; but the point is not quite certain;
- (iii) In the sphere of general fertility, as is indicated by the basket (actually "winnowing basket", *surpam surpam bhajemahi*, cf. the places noted above), she is associated with the sex-act; and there too, the symbol is that of the mortar (*vanaspati*) and the pestle that pounds in it. But is no clear indication of the mortar being the symbol of a feminine deity in the Vedic ritual, though, among other things, the mortar-pestle form a *mithuna*;
- (iv) Mahanagni has her male counterpart in this aspect, Mahanagna; he is described by the tree-symbol (cf. "of the 'tree having such fruit'", *idrkhlasya vrksasya*), and is likened to the Bilva and the Udumbara trees; his copulation with Mahanagni is conducive to the protection of the cows, and also of the held, his copulative 'dig' (*khodanam*) indicating the dig of plough.
- (v) Mahanagni is said to be associated with some beast, who is said to carry her by his head; but there is a variant reading in the *RV*, according to which it appears that there is an indication of some sort of a head-dress (*sirsna bhavati at RV*; cf. variant at *AV sirsnam harati dhanikam*; the meaning is dark);
- (vi) Along with the beast (*AV Ib. 10 yo mrgah sirsna harati*), and the partner Mahanagna, she is said to have copulative relationship with Isudeva and *adeva*; the words being indicative of erotic sense.

There is room to believe that here we have a multi-aspect personality of Mahanagni. In the divine aspect she has the divine partner, Mahanagna; in ritual, Mahanagna becomes, or is represented by, the *sudeva-adeva* on the one hand, and, on the other, the beast. In the former aspect there must be a human; in the latter a ritual-beast, and it is here that the horse

comes in the Horse-sacrifice; for some of the *mantras* that precede were actually sung at the Horse-sacrifice; for some of the *mantras* that precede were actually sung at the Horse-sacrifice; and, under this later influence can be explained the reading in *RV-Khila* “the organ of the horse has entered” (*asvasvavesitam pasah*), which we do not have at the *AV*. The relationship between the “nude goddess” who has her partner and the Vedic Mahanagni cannot be exactly established. But the concept behind them is similar. Mahanagni is undoubtedly the goddess of the procreative faculty; and she is the divine woman par excellence who would give progeny and full womanhood on the one hand, and, on the other, would give full crops; the latter is her aspect of the earth. The former may be compared with the custom of applying *sindura* to the vagina of the “nude woman” and her worship by women for progeny.

The concept of Mahanagni developed in the later Vedic period, for, as said above, there is no reference to her in *RV* proper. In her zoomorph she comes in the context of the purchase of the Soma-shoots, as the cow in the exchange of whom Soma-shoots are purchased (*ai. Br. I.27 taya mahanagnya bhutaya samam rajanam akrinam*). Here Soma is said to be the bull, and Mahanagni is the cow; they form a *mithuna* (compare the “nude goddess and the Bull” from Bhinmal) and she is also said to be speech.

Another important aspect of Mahanagni, though it is not clearly stated, is the sacrificial altar (*vedi*). The Vedic altar was prepared roughly in the form of a woman, and her male was the fire. The altar and the earth are mutually identified, and, as the earth and Mahanagni are on par, as noted above, it is very clear that the altar is Mahanagni. The *vedi* is described as a young woman, well-adorned, having four *kapardas* (dangling intertwined hair, a form of *vent*, the latter being flowing hair) and butterfaced, supervising the ritual (*RV X.114.3 catuskaparda yuvatih supesa ghrtapratika....*);

and she is pictured to be attended by the sacrificer and his wife, the main ritual-*mithuna*, described in a typically sexual term (*vrsanau*, “the potent sprinklers”).

In this connection it is interesting to pay attention to a terracotta-image found in a altar at Kausambi. It has been identified with the goddess Sinivali, the Vedic goddess connected with vegetation and fertility and described as having beautiful *kaparda* and head-ornaments (*Vaj. Sam XI.56 sinivali sukaparda sukurira su-opasa*); but, it has to be remembered that Sinivali is the deity of the first half of the new-moon-day, which is why she is associated with the moon. Hence, it is more proper to take the altar-figurine in various parts of India, and whose terracotta figurines are found from Rupar, Ahicchatra, Mathura, Tamluk, Kausambi, Chandraketugarh and other places, i.e. from Panjab to Bengal, by about the 2nd century B.C.

However, Pancacuda has to be differentiated from the altar-deity from the fact that the latter is said to be all nude but for the sacrificial grass that is strewn to make her partially covered (at least!) before the gods and the priests that sit round her at the time of the sacrifice. On the other hand, Pancacuda is fully covered, though her sexual strength is seen from her full breasts and hips. She has, in her head-dress, five *ayudhas*; and it is difficult to identify them with the sacrificial instrumentss, such as the *sphya* (wooden sword), that are placed in the *vedi* for ritual-use. Moreover, Pancacuda does not have her male partner, while the *vedi* has him in the Fire-god. Thus, Pancacuda is out of the scope of *mithuna*. Now, the question is, can we connect the terracott “nude” and the terracotta *mithunas* we have seen, with the Vedic ritual-tradition?

Mahavrata

Among the solemn vedic rituals the Mahavrata, the “great festival” plays an important role and assumes a key-position

in the Vedic ritualistic world. In the traditional texts, the Mahavrata appears as a part of the great soma-sacrifice. Its roots reach as far as to the ancient Indo-European background. On the other hand, this festival prepares a ground for the later developments of the important post-Vedic concepts of philosophy and religion. Just like the Pravargya, a non-orthodox ritual recently studied by Van Buitenen, it is an external ritual which had certainly an independent existence before it was absorbed in the soma-sacrifice. It exhibits number of special features in contrast to the ritual of other sacrifices. In this festival the activity of the priests fairly differs from the usual scheme exhibited in the Vedic rituals. One can observe so many elements in it which can be found rarely or not at all in the performance of Vedic rituals, i.e. the participation of women and sudras. The special importance of it lies in the mystical and esoteric character of this ritual which is well described in the Aranyaka-texts, like Sankhayana or Aitareya.

Now we come to the question of the sources of this ritual. We have at our disposal two kinds of texts, namely descriptive and explanatory. The explanatory ones to a greater extent belong to the middle Vedic and late Vedic texts, especially Aranyaka-texts. In this connection we can mention the Sankhayana-Aranayaka which was edited and translated by Fiedlaender in 1900. The speculations about the Mahavrata are continued even in the period of Upanisads, for example Kausitaki-Brahmana Upanisad belonging to Sankhayana-Aranyaka. Important informations about it can be found also in the Brahmanas of Samaveda. This fact is easy to understand because the music and the sounds play an important role in the Mahavrata. In this respect both Jaiminiya-Brahmana and Pancaimsa-Brahmana are to be mentioned. The details of the ritual are described in the Srautasutras, especially in the appendix to the Sankhayana-srautasutra and also the Srautasutras of Samaveda. Probably one could get more information on the concrete performance of Mahavrata in the

prayogas of later period which are not yet published.

The Mahavrata is structurally quite different from other Vedic rituals. In this ritual we find a mixture of dramatic elements in the procedure. For instance the hotar ascends on a swing and recites from there the mahadukha; the adhdvaryu seats on a king throne (asandi) which fact gives a scope for innumerable mystical speculations. An arya and a sutra fight each other for a round and white skin. A ksatriya throws arrows on the skin of a barren cow. People are performing the sacral copulation. A Brahmacarin enters in obscence conversation with a prostitute. A discussion between a praiser and a faultfinder takes place. At the end slave-girls carrying the pots full of water on their heads dance around the fire and finally pour the water on their heads dance around the fire and finally pour the water on the ground. These lively elements are almost exhibited the dramatic way. Without any doubt we must here assign the meaning of vrata as festival or ritual instead of religious observance. This festival is linked with the surpassing of forbidden behaviours. It is an important question to who's honour this ritual was celebrated.

It was originally a ritual belonging to the Indra cult. In some texts we find an interpretation of this festival to be performed in honour of Prajapati, but it is doubtless to say that it is a later development. The militant elements prove the prominence of Indra, and, at the same time, the elements of fecundity can be related to Indrani (just like in the marriage ceremonies). When the Mahavrata was originally the festival of winter-solstice, Indra played the role of a saviour (sutraman) to save the world from the danger of shortening menace of the days. Indra plays here a similar role, being amhomuc, as the Latine goddess Angerona (according to the views of Dumezil). One of the most worth mentioning studies of the Mahavrata is of Hillebrandt as a part of his book "*Die Sonnenwendfeste in Allindien*", published in 1889. According to Hillebrandt, the Mahavrata is a festival of summer solstice

which occurs in India just before the rainy season. His theory of Indra as "Gewittergott" leads him to this conception. Nevertheless it seems necessary to reject the conception of Hillebrandt and take a correct stand, in accordance with the Vedic literature, where in reality the Mahavrata was described as a festival of winter solstice. So this is a festival of the beginning of the vedic year. One can establish on the basis of astronomical and philological consideration, that the origin of the Mahavrata can be dated approximately 1500 B.C. The Nature of this festival exhibit two essential features: (1) the ksatriya-element, characterised by the protection of Indra and also the presence of the king. (2) the elements of fecundity, described in the obscene dialogues and ritualistic copulations.

On the other hand the Mahavrata is full of esteric and mystical elements. In this respect one can compare the Mysteries of Elusis as Hauer alluded. Will find an echo of this conception in the Kausitaki-Brahmana-Upanisad in which the main portion of the text is dedicated to the travel of the soul to the other world. At the same time we find various popular elements the Mahavrata is closely connected with the domestic ritual also, especially the marriage ceremony where Indrani, the consort of Indra, appears. The origin of two developments of the later Indian culture, like some mystical and dramatic elements, can be traced back in the Mahavrata. On one hand it shows pre-Tantric and pre-Upanisadic elements, and on the other hand, some definite original features of Indian theater, the origin of which cannot be traced in the orthodox Vedic rituals. The pre-Tantric features are of great interest. According to Eliade, the spirit of Tantric rituals and meditations is to put together the contrasting factor as a mystical unity. Among all vedic rituals the Mahavrata is the only one where such a dipolar structure can be observed: the sexual intercourse forms only one part of it, and other couples consist of praiser and faultfinder, arya and sudra, etc.

Important are also the elements for the understanding of the

ritual which are considered elements of drama and dance. In the “annual song” sung by girls who dance around the fire, an archaic form of the nandi of the classical Indian theatre is recognisable. Both contain the wish of a blessing with mention of the king on whom depends the welfare of the whole kingdom. Further the Significance of the musical instruments has to be pointed out, which have led to numerous speculations. Thus, Indra’s voice resounds from the famous hundred-stringed harp which is still available in Kashmir today.

At least the question still remains which Vedic poems were originally connected with the Mahavrata. It is highly probable, as Auer has pointed out before, that several of the Kuntapa-hymns of the XXth book of the Atharvaveda belong to this category. This is supported by the fact that one of the verses of the “annual song” forms at the same time the refrain of one of the Kuntapa-hymns. This kind of text is related to the folk-literature of the gathash. The “annual song”, as well as one of the Kuntapa-hymns, mention Pariksit as a contemporary king. Since the middle of the second millenium B.C. has been suggested as a probable dating for Pariksit, the origin of the Mahavrata can be placed at the same time, on the basis of this statement, even if the majority of texts which describe it are more recent.

Manman

The word Manman which occurs not less than 83 times in the Rgveda is etymologically derived from the root Man ‘to think’. A thorough critical examination of the Mantras wherein the word Manman occurs, and the consideration of the religious outlook of the Vedic Aryans reveal that the word manman denotes a ‘hymn which is well thought out’. The association of a Manman with other kinds of hymns like Vacas, Brahman Sasti, Uktha, Girah, Dhi, Narasmsa, Sukta, Dhiti, Prstham, Arka, Mati, Manisa, Stoma, Brhati and Saman and also with the offerings and the sacrifice corroborates this conclusion.

viz. that the word Manman denotes a hymn and not merely 'a thought', as its Etymology indicates. Moreover, the use of roots like Vac, Arc, Hu Raj, Sur, Bhr, Dha, Sams, Taksa, Jus, Bhand, Vrdh, Sadh, Bru, Sumbh, Stu, Hary with the word Manman strengthens the above conclusion .

Sayana paraphrases the word Manman as Stotra, Sastra or offerings etc., Stotra or balam, Stuti, Stuti or Stotra, Stoma, Kamam, Phalam, Dhanman or Stotra, Mantra and Mati. Sometimes he paraphrases as Jnapaka, Jnanasadhana. Mananiya, or even as Diptam Ayudham. However, generally, सायण has paraphrased the word as denoting a hymn.

A thorough examination of the Mantras, wherein the word Manman occurs, reveals that except in one Mantra, the word Manman has the meaning of 'a hymn'. At X.12.8 the word Manman has the sense of 'a council' of gods in view of the reference to the council of gods at X.11. 8. and the adjective Apicye qualifying the word Manman.

The word Satyamanman is often understood as 'one whose thoughts are always true' (i.e., dessen Gedanken wahrhaftig-Grassmann). This word occurs twice in the Rgveda and at both the places it qualifies the deity Savitr. To call Savitr as 'one whose thoughts are always true or effective is not quite significant though not impossible. The word, however, may be understood as "one whose Manman's (i.e. Manmans addressed to whom) are always true i.e. effective." This indicates the unfailing efficacy of the hymn. At I. 151. 8, *Samyataa manmana girah bharanti* is understood by Sayana as 'Giras with uninterrupted thoughts'. But even here the word Manman can be understood in the sense of 'a hymn'. The idea in the above mentioned verse is that the poets bring the Giras with uninterrupted Manmans i.e. the poets sing the Giras and the Manmans together. At VII. 61-4, the word Yajnamanma is paraphrased by Sayana as 'one whose thoughts are fixed on a sacrifice' (cf. Opferwilling [Manmanb Gedanke, wille]-Grassmann). The same word can also be understood

as 'one who composes or sings Manmans for the sacrifice', without any difficulty. Thus except at X. 12.8, the word Manman may be taken as denoting a hymn.

A Manman as we have seen above, indicates a hymn containing the *thoughts* of a poet priest. Herein, the poet praises the liberal gifts and the sympathetic attitude of the deities. At I. 120,3, the poet, being rewarded, sings a Manman to the Asvins. A poet from the Grtsamanda family recites a Manman while remembering the earlier protection given to him by Agni. The use of the roots like Bhand, Jr. Arc and Stu with Manman undoubtedly indicates that Manman is a hymn containing the praise of a deity's grace and greatness.

The thoughts expressed in a Mannian are pious. The activity of composing Manmans is considered sacred as that of performing a sacrifice. (वयुनानि न तक्षुः) Bringing a Manman to a deity is as pious as bringing i.e. offering the well-purified Ghrta at a sacrifice or to Agni. At X.78.1, Maruts with pious thoughts are compared to the poets possessing Manmans.

The prefix *su affixed* to Manman shows that the pious thoughts in a manman are also appealing ones. It is pure, i.e. free from defects like bad compositions and insincerity in feeling. It is famous i.e. attracting the attention of everyone by its merits and efficacy. It is conspicuous by its uncommon qualities, hence it is loved by the gods. It is inspiring and therefore deep (in its expression of feeling), mighty (in its contents) and vigorous (in tone). Often, a Manman is inspired and not merely a result of the thinking process.

A Manman with its glorificatory contents and artistic composition, appeals to the deities at once. Hence, the Vedic Aryans employed in Manman in order to achieve their end. The deities are invoked, invigorated or decorated with Manmans. A poet seeks an association with Indra and begs the favour of Maruts with a Manman. Because of a Manman, Agni sits down as the chosen Hotr at a sacrifice and the Horse

of the soft back simultaneously goes to the quarter of the gods. Vaisvanara mounts the heaven and Agni touches the wealth for being given away to the singers one account of a Manman. Tanunapati, exalting our Manman, convey our sacrifice to the gods, and Agni, with our Manmans worships the gods. It is because of a Manman that Ahis work wonders for Kutsa and Soma flows in a stream. Soma loves a Manman so much that it flows only when it is 'covered' with Manmans. Even blessings for progeny are obtained through Manmans, for a poet from the Vasistha family declares that one who composes Manmans extends one's group. The Vedic poets know very well that Manmans are the unfailing means to appeal to the deities and hence by singing Manmans they desire to acquire blissful gifts, heroic strength, nourishing food, and wealth together with progeny.

A Manman is regarded as the gift of a deity. Agni is described as the giver of a Manman and hence a poet from the Vamadeva-family requests Agni to give him a Manman. A poet declares that Agni has placed Manman on him like a burden. Asvins are requested to speak out a Manman and in the tenth Manddala, a poet selects the favour of the goods *in the form of the gift* of a Manman. Indra and Maruts, Indu and the spies of Varuna are also described as the inspirers of Manmans.

The deities are also conceived as the masters of a Manman. Agni is the Lord of every Manman and Mitra and Varuna are considered to be the sole masters of Manmans. The deities, being masters of Manmans are also the leaders of Manmans. They alone lead Manmans to success. Agni is described as Manmasadhanah. Pusan is requested to lead Manmans to success whereas Maruts are declared to be the leaders of Manmans, Mitras and Varuna are also called Manmasadhanah. Adityas are glorified for the accomplishment of Manmans.

It is because the deities alone lead Manmans to success, that the poet requests a deity to listen to his Manman or to accept

his Manmans or to come to his Manmans. The poets also emphasise that Manmans glorify or decorate a deity or that they are recited, brought or sung to a deity. It is quite natural, then if a poet requests Asvins to be dearest in his Manmans or if a poet declares that Indra loves his Manmans. The love of the deity for a Manman becomes evident when a poet expresses his desire that his hymn should be more dear to Agni even than a dear Manman.

A Manman being attractive in form and appealing in contents is often conceived as a dress or as an ornament for the deity. A Manman being a glorificatory hymn, presents before us the deity in brighter colour. A Manman is also conceived as an offering on account of its unfailing efficacy.

A Manman is often associated with a sacrifice and veryprobably it is sung at the end of it.

The singing of a Manman in the early morning is also referred to.

The adjectives 'Pratna', 'Pitnam and 'Purvya', indicate that the existence of hereditary or ancestral Manmans. However, sometimes, the emphasis is laid on the fact that Manmans are new.

Mantras

Inthe discussions on the Mantras I have adopted the following methodology. (1) The corresponding Mantras of the AB.-*pratikas* as given in the AS, are quoted fully. (2) The liturgical context of every Mantra in the AB, is described. (3) Then I have given the sources of the Mantras pointing out the text variations with reference to the AS.-version and the ritualistic employment of the Mantras in various schools of rituals. By sources, I mean the early Vedic texts in which the Mantras are seen. (4). Notes on the setting of the Mantras in these Vedic texts with reference to the verses that precede and succeed them are also given wherever felt necessary. (5)

The discussion on every Mantra generally ends with a critical examination of the same from various points of view.

1. AB. I.4:

‘अग्निमुखं प्रथमो देवतानां’ सङ्गतानांमुत्तमो विष्णुरासीत् ।
यजमानाय परिगृह्य देवानं दीक्षयेदं हविरागच्छतं नः ॥

AS. 4.2.3.

[The portion with the inverted commas represents the *pratika*.]

Context: This is the invitory Mantra to Agni and Visnu for the consecration offering in the Soma sacrifice.

Source: The verse is found in KS. 4.16. with the variation दीक्षाय for दीक्षाया. In the KS., it is preceded by two other verses which are sacred to Agni and Visnu like our verse but without any pointed reference to *diksa* (the consecration ceremony). This couple of verses constitutes a separate hymn in the AV. (VII.29).

The Mantra, with अग्नु for मुखं in the first *pada* and संयातानां for संगतानां in the second *pada*, is completely cited in the TB. (2.4.3.3) and is prescribed for recitation in the consecration rite.

2. AB. I.4:

‘अग्निश्च विष्णो तप उत्तमं महो’ दीक्षापालाय वनतं हि शक्रा ।
विश्वैर्देर्यज्ञियैः संविदानौ दीक्षामस्मै यजमानाय धत्तम् ॥

AS. 4.2.3.

Context: The Mantra is to accompany the offering made to Agni and Visnu at the consecration the connected with the Soma sacrifice.

Sources: This verse is not traced to any extant Sanhita text but it is found fully quoted in the TB. (2.4.3.4) with the only variation दीक्षापालेभ्य and दीक्षापालय.

According to the TB also the Mantra is to be recited when an offering is made to Agni and Visnu in the consecration rite.

We see this and the preceding Mantras cited by *pratikas* in the AB. and quoted in full in the TB. This proves beyond doubt that the Mantras belonged to the Aitareya tradition.

Our first *diksa*-mantra might have probably been incorporated into the KS. because of its resemblance with the two Mantras, which precede it in that Sanhita, with regard to the deities, Agni and Visnu. Our second Mantra, which forms a harmonious pair with our first Mantra owing to their mutual resemblance on points more than one, is not found in the KS. But the TB. (2.4.3.3. and 4) quotes both the Mantras for employment in a context which is the same as that in the AB. i.e., consecration rite. Here it appears that in this employment of these verses the TB. is influenced by the Aitareya tradition as contained in the AB. This surmise gains strength as we see that according to the TS. (2.5.12.1) the Mantras are to be recited in a special sacrifice performed by one who is long ill and who is desirous of long life. Naturally one expects the TV. to follow the TS. rather than the ritual tradition of the Aitareyins, but here is a definite instance of TB. being influenced by the Aitareya tradition.

Our two Mantras (I and II) have clear reference to the *diksa*. In both of them the consecration is seen deified. Oldenberg advances the argument that 'The notion and specification of *diksa* cannot be traced backwards to the Rgveda Sanhita, to prove that the Mantras are of a later origin. He also points out that the fanciful deification of the *diksa* rite also indicates the later origin of the verses.

In the light of the above discussion it is almost sure that this couple of mantras was later than the Mantras collected in our RV, and was composed for recitation on this particular occasion of the consecration rite in the school of rituals following the Rgveda. One of them crept into the KS. at the time of latter's

compilation and both were borrowed by the TB. for the same liturgical purpose as in the AB.

3. AB. I.9:

‘महीमूषु मातरं सुव्रताना’ ऋतस्य पत्नीमवसे हुवेम् ।
तुविक्षत्रामजरन्तीमुरूचीं सुंशर्माणमदितिं सुप्रणीतिम् ॥

AS. 2.1.29.

Context: The Mantra is to be addressed to Aditi in the introductory rite connected with the Soma sacrifice. In the order or recitation this verse follows the Rg-verse X.63.10.

Sources: The Brh. D. (7.104) cites the verse just after the RV. verse X.63.10, but this is not traced to the Kashmir collection of the Khila verses. An examination of the liturgical employment of this Mantra (as done below) will reveal the fact that very often this traditional association of the Mantra with the RV. verse X.63.10 is maintained unbroken in various Vedic texts. The statement of the Brh. D. and the connection of the verse with RV. X.63.10 as evidenced by the pairing of both for ritual recitation have prompted Scheftelowitz to ascribe it to the Khila group.

The second verse of the AV. — *sukta* 7.6 is almost identical with our verse and is followed by RV.X.63.10. The AV. has हवामहे instead of our हुमेव in the second *pada* but the Ppp. recension has the same reading as in the AS. In the Atharvana tradition the verse is employed in Svastyayana and various other rites (see Whitney, Trans. of the AV. Vol. I, pp. 392-93).

VS.21.5. is exactly the same as our verse and is accompanied by the Rg-verse X.63.10. The verse is to be recited at the time of offering an oblation to Aditi in the Sautramani sacrifice.

In the TS. (1.5.11.5) the Mantra without any text variation is prescribed for a special oblation to be offered to Aditi by one who is about to get engaged in a conflict. Here again the companion verse RV. X.63.10 accompanies our verse.

The MS. (4.10.1) has our very verse preceded by its traditional companion RV.X.63.10 and is to be chanted when the butter portion is offered to Aditi in the Rajasuya sacrifice.

In KS. 30.4 the verse occurs in an identical form but is neither preceded nor followed by the RV. verse (X.63.10) unlike in the Vedic texts referred to above. The Rg—verse is found in KS.2.3. but not in association without verse.

In the TB. (3.1.3.3.) also, as in the KS., its companionship with RV. X.63.10 is found broken.

The Ab. says that RV. X.63.10 and our verse are in *jagati*: metre. According to the RV. index the verse RV. X.63.10. is a *jagati*. But in this RV. verse there is a deficiency of one syllable in the second *pada* which is the same as the last *pada* of our verse. In our verse all the *padas* have invariably only eleven syllables and hence is a *tristubh*. In the AV. index the verse is defined as a *bhurij* for the second line has got twelve syllables (owing to the variation हवामहे for हुवेम) of which one is evidently superfluous.

In his discussion on the verse, Oldenberg has come to the conclusion that the probability is that it was composed at a later time as a counterpoise to RVX.63.10 for the purpose of ritual under the influence of that verse and in the style which is predominant in the Gayasuktas (X.63.64). From its contents also the verse appears to be a later one.

4. AB.1.17:

जुषाणो (Designation of two formulas) अग्निराज्यस्य वेतु.

5. जुषाणः सोम आज्यस्य हेवषो वेतु

AS. 1.5.29.

Context: Offering Mantras for the butter portion to Agni and Soma in the guest-reception of Soma in the Soma sacrifice.

Sources: The first Mantra occurs twice in the SB. In SB. 1.5.3.23, it is laid down to accompany the *svistakrt* oblation

in the Darsapurnamasa sacrifice and in 2.2.3.20, it is an offering Mantra addressed to Agni in the *punaradheya* rite.

In TB. 3.5.6.1. the same formulas appear admist a few others of the same model. For example two of such formulas are given below.

1. तनूनपादग्ने आज्यस्य वेतु.
2. बर्हिरग्ने आज्यस्य वेतु.

S.S. 1.8.3 has our first mantra with हविषः inserted between आज्यस्य and वेतु. This addition might have probably been made on the analogy of the offering Mantra to Soma in which the word हविषः appears before वेतु.

The SB, and TB. quote the Mantras entirely, unlike the AB. This shows these two Brahmanas of the YV. looked upon these formulas as belonging to some Vedic school other than their own. This confirms the fact that the formulas originally belonged to the Rgveda school which is already suggested by their citation by the first word, in the AB.

6. AB.I.19:

‘ब्रह्म जज्ञानं पथमं पुरस्ताद विसीमतः सुरुचो वेन आव ।
सु बुध्न्या उप मा अस्य विष्टाः सतश्च योनिमसलश्च विवः ॥

AS. 4.6.3.

Context: This is the first verse among the first twenty-one verses of the Hotr in *pravargya* ceremony which is a necessary preliminary to the Soma sacrifice.

Sources: The Mantra is seen included in the collection of the Khilas (RV.Kh. III.22.1).

AV.4.1:1 is the same as our Mantra and according to GB.2.2.6 is to be appended along with AV. 4.1.2. to the *gharma*-hymn prescribed for the *pravargya* rite in the Agnistoma. This *viniyoga* of the verse is the same as that we find in the AB.

AV.19.21.22, is another verse having some similarity in sense

with our verse. The third *pada* of the AV. verse is—

भुतानां ब्रह्म प्रथमोत् जज्ञे.

This *pada* bears resemblance with the opening of our verse.

SV.1.321 is our verse and this is the only verse in this entire Sama-decade which is not traced to the RV.

VS. 13.3 is our Mantra and is recited when the piece of gold (hung round the neck of the sacrificer) is placed on the lotus leaf in the Rajasuya sacrifice in connection with *agnicayana*. This is followed by the deposition of a golden figure of a man on the piece of gold. To accompany this act are prescribed two RV. Mantras (RV.X.121.1 and X.17.11. with variations) which immediately follow our Mantra in the VS. (see SB. 7.4.1.14).

In the TS. (4.2.8.2), MS. (2.7.15) and KS. (16.15) occurs the Mantra and it is parallel to the VS. Mantra. In the MS. it is followed by RV. X.121.1 and in the KS. just as in the VS. the two verses RV. X.121.1 and X.17.11 accompany it.

In KB. VIII. 4, also the Mantra is cited in same context. But in the interpretation of the word *brahma* the AB, and the KB. do not agree. The former explains it as Brhaspati while the latter appears to equate it with the Sun.

The TB. (2.8.8.8) cites the Mantra is full and lays it down for recitation as an invitory verse for offering the omentum in an animal sacrifice.

The Mantra is quoted in a good many of the Vedic texts as is clear from the above notes and 'what is very remarkable, everywhere without a variant.' Probably the mystic nature of the context of the verse might have discouraged all the later text-makers to tamper with the original text.

This and the following three verses (VII-IX) belong to a Khila decade (III.22) which is cited by the Brh. D. in between RV.X.103. and 104. The Brha.D. (viii. 15) has the following

description about these verses:

तत्रानिरुक्तसूक्तदाव् ऋगेका सूयमर्चति ।
धर्मपराश्वतसस्तु सवितारमभीति या ॥

The accounts of the Brh. D. and the *anukramani* when put together give us the following information about these four Mantras. Nakula was the author of the Khila decade of which the first four are these verses. The first verse is sacred to the Sun even though the deity is not specified; the second is a praise to *gharma* (the *pravargya* vessel); the third is addressed to Brahaspati and the fourth to Savitr. All these four verses are connected with *gharma* and this is fully borne out by their employment in the AB.I.19. in connection with the *pravargya* operations. This association of the verses with the cauldron is further established by their *viniyoga* in the same manner in the rituals of the Atharva school.

In his discussion on these verses in the Prolegomena. Oldenberg opines about the hymn which he conjectured to contain these verses that 'We can at any rate scarcely regard it as separated very far from the period of the later RV. on account of its language'.

7. AB.1.19:

‘इयं पित्रे राष्ट्रेयेत्यग्रे’ प्रथमाय जनुषे भूमनेष्टाः ।
तस्मा एतं सुरुचं द्वारमहयं धर्मं श्रीणन्ति प्रथमस्य धासेः ॥

AS. 4.6.3.

Context: The second verse of the first group of 21 verses to be recited by the Hotr in the *pravargya* ceremony in the Soma sacrifice.

Source: RV. Kh. III.22.2 is the same as this verse.

The verse is also found in the AV. (4.1.2) with the following text variations: पित्रया, एतु, भुवनेष्टाः, श्रीणन्तु and धास्यवे for our पित्रे, एति, भूवनेष्टाः, श्रीणन्ति and धासे respectively. In the Ppp. appear भुवनेष्टौ for our भूवनेष्टाः and श्रीणन्तु प्रथमः स्वधा स्युः for our

श्रीणन्ति प्रथमस्य धासेः.

GB.2.2.6 cites this and the previous Mantras by *pratikas* as they occur in the AV. for recitation along with *gharma*-hymns in the *pravargya* ceremony.

This and the previous verses are rather obscure. (See Whitney's remark. AV. Trans. Vol. I, p. 144).

8. AB.1.19:

‘महान् महो अस्तभायद्’ विजातो द्यां पिता सदम् पार्थिवञ्च रजः ।
स बुध्नादष्ट जनुषाभ्युग्रं बृहस्पतिर्देवता तस्य साम्राट् ॥

AS. 4.6.3.

Context: This is the third one in the first 21 verses of the Hotr in the *pravargya* ceremony attached to the Soma sacrifice.

Sources: This verse is identical with the Khila III.22.3.

The first half of our verse is the second half of the AV, verse 4.1.4 and the second half of our verse is the first half of AV. 4.1.5. The text variants are:— (1) अस्कभायत् for our अस्तभायत्, (2) The word पिता between द्यां and सदम् is not seen in the AV. (3) Instead of our स बुध्नात् the AV. has स बुध्नात् (4) आष्ट for our आष्ट (5) For our जनुषाभ्युग्रं. The AV reading is जनुषोऽभ्युग्रं The Ppp. recension has the same verse the hemistiches being not distributed among two verses as in the AV.

TS. 2.3.14.6. also contains the verse with two variations. The word पिता is omitted and तस्य in the last *pada* is substituted by यस्य in the TS. Here it is to be recited in a *kamyesti*. In the KS. (10.13) the verse appears with अकस्मात् for अस्तभायत् and द्विता for पिता.

The AV. — *sukjta* 4.1 in which this and the two previous verses (VI-VII) appear according to Oldenberg is from one source. An examination of the sources of the verses in the hymn does not support this supposition. Of the seven verses in the *sukta* three are traced to the collection of the Rgveda

Khilas (III.22). Another verse प्रथो जज्ञे etc. (AV.4.2.3.) is found in the TS. (2.3.14.16) and KS. (10.13) along with the verse महान् मही अस्तभायत् etc. Two other remaining verses and the two hemistiches to which the two halves of our verse are tacked on are traced to no other source. This variety of sources of the verses in the hymn shows that it is a composite one. In view of this I also think, the remark that 'The hymn is quite out of the usual Atharvan style made by Whitney cannot hold good with reference to the entire hymn. The two verses and the two hemistiches which are not traced to any other text may be taken to belong to the Atharva school.

9. AB. 1.19

‘अभित्यं देवं सवितारमोण्योः’ कविक्रतुं अर्चामि सत्यसर्व रत्नधामभिप्रियं
मतिं कदिम् ।

ऊर्ध्वा यस्यामतिर्भा अदिद्युतत् सवीमनि हिरण्यपाणिरमिमीत सुक्रतुः कृपास्वः।
तृपा स्वरिति वा ॥

AS. 4.6.3.

Context: The Hotr recites this verse addressed to Savitr in the *pravargya* ceremony connected with the Soma sacrifice.

Sources: The Khila verse III. 22.4 is our verse but the *uha* तृपा स्वः at the end is seen only in the AS.

In the AV. (7.14.1.2) two verses are made of our verse. In the last *pada* the AV. has कृपात्स्वः for our कृपा स्वः. In the SV. (I.464) and the three Sanhitas, TS, (1.2-6.1), MS (1.2.5) and KS. (2.6), of the Black YV. it is treated as a single verse. In the VS. (4.25) it is seen further extended by adding etc.

The Kaus'. (24.3) prescribes the entire hymn (AV.7.14) for a general rite for prosperity and according to Vait. (13.7) it is to accompany the winnowing of Soma in the Agnistoma sacrifice. The three Sanhitas TS., MS and KS. employ the Mantra for measuring out the Soma on the cloth spread on the ox-hide in the Soma sacrifice.

KB (23.8) cites the mantra by the pratika अभि त्वं देवं सवितारयोप्यो कविक्रतुं. According to this Brahmana the *vaisvadevasastra* on the sixth day of the *prstyā sadaha* in the Soma sacrifice is begun with this Mantra.

According to the *anukramani* to the AV. this verse appearing at the opening to the hymn (AV7.14) stands divided into two *anustubh* verses. The definition of the *anukramani* is probably based on the number of syllables and the convenience to accommodate them into two verses of 32 syllables each. But a careful reading would convince one the *anustubh* cannot be the metre of the verse, Prof. Whitney has the following remark: 'The metrical definition by the Anukram of the first two verses as *anustubh* is bad; they are really four *jagati padas* to each of which are added four syllables that encumber the sense.' This is further supported by the fact that the AB. cites this verse by a *pratika* which has twelve syllables required to constitute a *jagati pada*.

Mantra Brahmana

The *mantra Brahmana* is wholly in matrical form (hence the name) and almost all together in the form of addresses or prayers—the connecting links being so sparingly given that the Editor continually refers to the Gobhila's Grihya Sutra for the necessary explanation, it is divided into two *prapatakas* or Books, each of which is sub-divided into eight *Khandas* or chapters. The first of these Books gives the *Mantras* connected with the marriage ceremony, the taking of the bride to the bridegroom's house, the conception, quickening and birth for the first male child, the shaving of his head by the village barber, the adorning of him with the sacred thread, the placing of him as a student or Brahmachar in with a Guru or teacher, and under the care of the god Stick or Danda for protection. The book ends with his consigning his cows to the care of the god Pushan, thanking his divine weapon, the Stick or Club, for its providing grass for his cattle, which he also addresses

in prayer, asking them to increase in number, so that he may have more milk in future. It contains much that is obscene.

The mantras given in Book II. partake more of the nature of the teaching found in the Aranyakas or Upanishads; and both it and the first book give unmistakable evidence of their being not so old as some of the other Brahmanas. It begins with invocations and prayers to the snakes of the fourth quarters, to the earth, to Rudra, Indra and the seasons, asking for long life, rice, air, fire and that when he does die he may not again be cooped up in a body; he calls on his soul to sing the praise of him who gave him rice to eat.

He then gives rice pudding to *Yama* that he may protect his cows and give him a good reputation. He offers a goat and asks for cows, goats, camels, buffaloes, &c. From *Usha* he asks for long life to his children.

With pindas, cloths and water, he worships his ancestors; and commits himself to the care of that great spirit that pervades the three worlds, Para-Brahma, that all-pervading, formless being which rests upon the whole universe; and he asks to be equitable like the sun, glorious like fire, power like the wind, sweet-scented like the moon the intelligent like Brahaspati. He also salutes Rudra, Brahma and Surya.

He seeks to be delivered from idleness and worships *Bisarava*. Before leaving his bed in the morning he addresses the sun to make him illustrious among all the three castes. He further asks those gods and goddesses who left him at night to come back and take possession of him during the day-time. He asks the sun god to restore to him the powers lost at night and offers him *ghee*, so that he may get up with its rising and not stop from work before its setting.

He now worships his household deities and asks for disciples from distant and different quarters. He makes an offering to the sun and moon praying for power to bring men under his control; and, in correction of some current views, remarks

that "only fools say that you, Sun, have your other side dark; but I assert that you are lighted on the other side." He offers and asks for eatables for night and day. He then takes his Club or Sticks and prays to it to protect him from his enemies.

By means of drug he destroys all worms within time. He then goes to his meal, squats upon his matted Kusa-grass after washing his feet, and partakes of eatables duly named.

The Brahmana ends with the prayer that Aryans, and especially wish Aryans, be preserved from killing cows.

Marriage

The laws, commandments, or rules of action, laid down in our Shastras are of two distinct kinds. *Firstly*, there rules which man, as he is at present constituted, cannot discover for himself without the teaching of the Shastras. The rule, for instance, which says "He who wishes to attain Svarga, or heavenly happiness after death, should perform the sacrificial rite called Jyotishtoma," cannot be formulated by man, unless the Veda has taught it. *Secondly*, there is a rule in the Sharstra which says that "the pupil should follow the teacher." This rule can be formulated by man without the Shastra teching it. He may find out for himself that if the teacher should instruct his pupil, the latter should implicitly obey the behests of the former; otherwise the teacher may not willingly impart all the instructions that the pupil requires. The Veda is intended to lay down the rules of the first kind, the laydown rules for the guidance of man in those matters in which the can never arrive at a knowledge of those rules, without the aid of Revelation, as transcending the reach of his personal experience. In such cases alone we depend entirely on the teaching of the Veda and should literally and implicitly follow the rules therein laid down, if we wish to attain the results which are said to accure from the acts recommended, in this world or the next as the case may be. All the rules laid down in the Veda primarily are of this sort. The second class of rules are found in the

Smritis the work of human intellect.

To what category does the marriage ritual laid down in the Shastras belong? To answer this question, we should know what the object is of the marriage ritual prescribed in the Shastras, as distinguished from the result of the sexual union of man and woman not established through such a ritual. This latter kind of sexual union resulting in reproduction is brought about by the sexual instinct implanted in the whole animal creation including man. No Vedic commandment is needed to bring about this event. When the natural instinct impels a man and a woman to unite together for reproduction, the Veda teaches them that if a fine efficient progeny of a highly intellectual, moral and spiritual nature is aimed at, the conjugal relation should be accompanied by the course of life laid down for a householder from the very day of his marriage, and preceded by the preparatory course of life prescribed for the Brahmacharins, the holy order of Vedic students; so that the main immediate object of the Vedic law of marriage is not mere reproduction, but the advance of human evolution by way of bringing about an improved race of human beings.

The ordinary human intellect can never formulate such a rule of life without the teaching of the Shashtra. Neither are the promises, vows, wishes and aspirations which are conveyed through the mantras, or the formulas recited by the bridegroom and the bride in the course of the marriage ritual, ever likely to enter their minds if their have not been suggested by those mantras. The expression of these vows, promises, and aspirations, implies and impresses a full sense of the responsibilities and duties pertaining to the life of an ideal householder or citizen, a full sense of the holy life the married couple will have to lead together. Man and woman thus united by the bond of marriage, leading the holy life laid down in the Shastras for the order of householders, reproduce themselves in a race of human beings called Rishis, whose minds can soar beyond flesh and its concomitant feelings and view the

world of man from loftier altitudes. It is through such a race of men, possessed of vast powers of clear and piercing vision, that the Vedas have come down to us.

The relation of marriage is thus the most important concern in life and must be entered into in no light spirit, if a progeny has to be brought into being which is to be worthy of the high destiny of the Aryan race to which the Rishis belonged. Prior to entering into this relation, man and woman should have clearly understood the importance of the sacred life of the householder as laid down in the Veda, and should have fully prepared themselves for that life. With a view to this, let us try to formulate in detail the primary law of marriage as contrasted with the secondary and tertiary laws now in vogue among the Hindus. Where ought we to look up for this primary law? The fountain source of all teaching in regard to matters beyond the reach of the ordinary human intellect is the Veda, as Jaimini says चोदनालक्षणेऽर्थो धर्मः. When the Veda fails us, then alone we have to look up to the other sources of law, such as Smriti and custom, constituting together what is called *sampradaya* or tradition (*vide infra* para 14).

The Veda comprises two sections. One section called Brahmana lays down rules in express terms,—in the form “One should do so and so if one desires such and such a result,”—with necessary details, and with such explanations as are calculated to induce a man to follow the rules. The other section comprises mantras, the formulas to be repeated in the course of the ritual, expressing the acts to be done at the time; अनष्टेयार्थस्मारको मन्त्रः. The mantra does not state a rule expressly in the form “One should do so and so;” it simply describes the act which at the time is to be done by the individual engaged in the performance of the ritual. It is in the form “I do so and so”, or “O Indra, grant me this prayer;” and so on. So the mantras express the thoughts and aspirations of the person engaged in the ritual, while the external act or acts constituting the ritual form the outward expression, and

sometimes the mere symbol, of the person's inward workings.

The Brahmana section prescribes the use of mantras in connection with particular acts in the course of a ritual, especially when the connection between a mantra and an act is not quite apparent from the tenor of the mantra itself. But where there is no express Brahmana text prescribing the use of a mantra with reference to an act of ritual, such a connection must be inferred from the tenor of the mantra itself. In fact, the Mimamskas teach that where a mantra indicates clearly with what act or ritual it should be associated, there is no need for a Brahmana text teaching such a connection. If, on the contrary, there appears in this case a Brahmana text apparently pointing to such a connection, it is said that the main object of the rule is not simply to repeat what the mantra clearly indicates as to its use, but to teach some thing over and above what the mantra implies.

Now the Brahmana section of the Veda does not treat of the marriage ritual. But in every one of the four Vedas, there is a separate section embodying the mantras connected with the marriage ritual. It is probable that these mantras were once all self-explanatory, and that therefore no express directions were needed as to their connection with the several acts of the ritual. It is in these Vedic formulas that we would seek for the Vedic Law of Marriage embodying the original ideal of the status of man and woman at the time of marriage and of the conditions of their married life.

We should study the mantras with a view to determine the primary law of marriage from their tenor. If the tradition of the time and the land embodied in the current practices and Smritis (law-books) conflict with the rules derived from an independent study of the Vedic mantras which are the primary source of law, the tradition should give way to the paramount authority of the Veda. Such are the time-honoured rules laid down for the interpretation of the Vedic texts, and formulated by Jaimini and Badarayana, the two great authors of the

Mimamsa, with a view to guide the students in determining the laws laid down in the Shastras. If therefore we wish to ascertain the Vedic Law of Marriage, we should study the mantras connected with the marriage ritual, interpreting them in strict accordance with the principles of the Mimamsa. It is enough for the present purpose to take up a few mantras for study—such mantras as are connected with those parts of the marriage ritual which are common to all schools of the Veda, and without which no marriage is complete. The rules which such a study suggests are binding on all Hindus who recognise the supreme authority of the Veda in matters of religious law.

Let us study one of the mantras uttered by the bridegroom on meeting the bride in the first act of the marriage ritual. It runs as follows:—

गुष्णामि ते सुप्रजास्त्वाय
हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथाऽसः
भगो आर्यमा सविता पुरंधि-
महं त्वाऽदुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः

“I seize thy hand to have a fine progeny, that thou mayest live with me, thy lord, till thou shalt attain decay. The Gods—Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitri, and Purandhi—have given thee to me for householdership.”

(*Taittiriya Ekagnikanda*, I. iii; 3.)

This mantra is evidently to be recited by the bridegroom holding the hand of the bride, the act of *pani-grahana* forming a very important part of the marriage ritual. The mantra indicates the main object of marriage, viz., *suprajastva*, the generation of a fine progeny. This result will accrue from the union of a man and a woman joining together in close companionship for the whole life and duly performing, from the very day of marriage onward, the duties of the householders' life—duties which they as husband and wife owe to the Gods, to man, and to lower animals. Further, every

Aryan has to bear in mind that this holy relation of marriage between a man and a woman of the Arya or cultured class is brought about by Gods for serving a divine purpose in life, through the married couple discharging their duties as householders. Thus living together in mutual love, and at peace with man and with all beings above and below above and below man, the Aryan man and woman, united together by the bond of marriage, bring forth a progeny worthy of the Aryan race. Again, the bride is addressed thus:—

वीरसुर्देवकामा स्योना शं नो भव ॥

“Giving birth to manly children, and devoted to the Gods, be thou conducive to our, happiness and well-being.”

(*Rig-Veda X. 85, 44.*)

From this we may learn that manliness is one of the fine qualities expected of the children to be brought forth as the issue of the married life. Further, the bride is exhorted to lead a life of devotion to the Gods, which necessarily presupposes knowledge, on her part of the nature and functions of the Gods in relation to the world and humanity. When such words are addressed to the bride, she is expected to understand their meaning and spirit and to be able to rise to the level of the husband's aspirations. Surely, all this cannot be expected of a bride whose age is ten years or under. So, according to the Veda, man and woman, when they are about to enter the married life, must be quite mature in mind and body. They should be able to understand and recognise the main object of marriage, as also the conditions of the married life in which that object has to be achieved.

The next important mantra I propose to take up for study in the formula which, after pacing seven steps with the bride, the bridegroom utters, addressing her as follows:—

सखा सप्तपदा भव, सखायो सप्तदा बभूव, सख्यं ते गमेयं, सख्यात्ते मा योषं, सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ।

समयाव संकल्पावहै सं प्रियो राचिष्णु सुमनस्यमानौ । इषमूर्जमभि सं वसानौ
सं नौ मनांसि सं व्रता समु चित्तान्याकरम् ॥

“A friend shalt thou be, having paced these seven steps with me. Nay, having paced together the seven steps, we *have become* friends. May I retain thy friendship, and never part from thy friendship. Let us unite together: let us propose together. Loving each other and ever radiant in each other's company, meaning well towards each other, sharing together all enjoyments and pleasures, let us join together our aspirations, our vows, and our thoughts”. (*Tai. Eka. I. iii, 14*).

These words addressed by the bridegroom to the bride on the first day of marriage shew that, in the original Vedic ideal, the relation of husband and wife is one of friendship on almost equal terms. They have had each their own thoughts, vows and aspirations; and by marriage, they have to consciously unite them together in harmony, with a view to bring forth a fine, manly and spiritual progeny and thereby forward the advance of humanity. They have been brought together by the Gods to serve a very important divine purpose in human evolution, as we have already had occasion to show (*vide supra* para 7). Can we expect words such as the above to be addressed at the time of marriage by a boy-bridegroom, or even by an adult bridegroom, to a child-bride, to a girl between four and ten years of age who cannot respond to the call of friendship and co-operation, and to the demand of perfect union in thought and deed? Can the girl understand and realise the full sense of the words thus addressed to her? The further proposal that the bridegroom makes to the bride in this connection clearly indicates that both of them must be adults at the time of marriage. The bridegroom continues his address to the bride as follows:—

तावेहि संभवाव सह रेतो दधावहै पुंसे पुत्राय वेत्तव ॥

Come now, let us beget; let us place the seed together, that we may attain a male child.”—(*Jaimini Grihya Sutra* 21, 8).

Thus at the time of the *Sapta-padi* (the ceremony of pacing seven steps) which occurs on the first day of marriage, the bridegroom and the bride are of an age when they are ready to become the parents of children.

Now to pass on to the study of another significant mantra. At the house of the bride's father the bridegroom has to offer a number of oblations to the fire praying to Gods for their blessings on the marriage and on the bride. In offering one of these oblations, the bridegroom says:—

कन्यला पितृभ्यो यती पतिलोकमव दीक्षामदास्थ ॥

“This maiden, about to pass away from her parents to the husband's home, has ended her vow of maidenhood.”—(*Tai Eka. I. iv, 4.*)

And further on, he prays to Indra thus:—

प्रेते मुञ्चाति नातुतः सुबद्धाममुतस्करत् ॥

“Do thou release her hence, but not thence; there do thou keep her well fixed.”

(*Ibid. 5*)

From these two mantras it may be clearly seen that even on the first day of marriage the bride is fit to leave her parents' house for good and to take her abode in the bridegroom's house whence she is never to return to her parents. No infant or child-wife can thus pass away finally from her parents' care to set up a common household with the husband. The bride must be an adult woman who, at the time of her departure from the parents' home on the first day of marriage, may be addressed as follows:—

गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथाऽसौ ।
वसिनी त्वं विदथमावदासि ॥

“Go to the house, that thou mayst be the lady of the house. As mistress (of the house), thou shalt direct the sacrificial rites.” *Rig- Veda X, 85, 26.*

On the very day of marriage when the bride has to leave her parents' home to take her abode with the husband in their common home, she must be prepared to take charge of the household, well versed in the household management, and fully conversant with the details of all the sacrificial rites that the householders have daily to go through. This means a previous preparation on her part and a well-devised course of instruction which she has passed through to qualify herself for her future life as wife and mother according to the Aryan ideal. As a matter of fact, the bride has herself to repeat mantras or formulas with a full understanding of their sense, as well as she has to understand the full meaning of the bridegroom's exhortations and promises uttered in the form of mantras. There was, indeed, a time when among the Indo-Aryans women were as well educated as men, when women studied Vedas and sciences as well as men, when women sacrificed on their own account like men both before and after marriage. This becomes clear from the study of a mantra connected with the *laja-homa* (the oblation of fried grains), the next stage in the marriage ritual. The mantra reads as follows:—

अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत ।
स इमां देवो अध्वरः प्रेतो मुञ्चातु नामतः ॥

“This maiden worshipped Agni, the God Aryaman. May that gracious God release her hence, but not thence.”

Tai. Eka. I, v. 7.)

The maiden who wishes to secure a proper husband has to worship God Aryaman. And this worship is given in detail in the Kausika- Grihyasutra of the Atharva-Veda. The Sankhayana Grihyasutra of the Rig-Veda. The Sabnkhayana Grihyasutra of the Rig-Veda *Indrani-Karma*, a ritual to be performed by, or on behalf of, the maiden on the eve of her marriage, in which oblations are offered to Gods and Goddesses, including Aryaman. From this it is clear that women offered sacrificial worship on their own account,

independently of men. The cooperation of man and woman is necessary in some sacrificial rites only, but not in all. The tie of marriage enables a man and a woman to offer a conjoint worship to the Gods, and the benefit of this conjoint worship to the gods, and the benefit of this conjoint worship is stated in the words of the following mantras addressed to the bride in this connection.

धातुश्च योनौ सुकृतस्य लोके ।
स्योनं ते सह करोमि ॥

“In the home of the Creator, in the region (attained as the result) of the meritorious deed, I secure for thee a place of blessedness with thy husband.” (*Ibid.* 16.)

The wife has an equal share with the husband in the merit of their conjoint worship. By a proper discharge of their duties as joint householders, the married couple attain to the highest heaven, after death, enjoying there a heavenly bliss in mutual love and company. Equal share in the benefits of a joint act implies equal efficiency as a co-operator in the act. A little later on, when the bride is about to take charge of the common household, she is addressed as follows:—

संराज्ञी श्वशुरे भव संराज्ञी श्वश्रुवां भव ।
ननान्दरि संराज्ञो भव संराज्ञी अधि देवेषु ॥

“Be thou a loving queen (in the house) to the father-in-law, a loving queen to the mother-in-law, a loving queen to the sister-in-law, a loving queen to the brothers-in-law.”

(*Rig- Veda X, 85, 46.*)

So, when the married couple are settled in their common household, the wife becomes the mistress of the house. The husband's father, mother, sisters and brothers, if they happen to live with them, are only the dependants of the married couple and are to be treated lovingly by them with respectful consideration and kindness.

Woman's Duties as Householder, Wife and Mother: On entering the house, the bride is addressed as follows:—

इदं प्रियं प्रजया ते समृध्यता-
मस्मिन् गृहे गार्हपत्याय जाग्रहि ।
एना पत्या तन्वं संसृज-
स्वाथा जीवी विदथमावदासि ॥

“May thy joy increase here through offspring. Be thou ever awake here in this house for thy duty as householder. With this, thy husband, do thou join thy body; and as thou advancest in age, thou shalt teach the sacrificial law.”

—(Ibid. 27.)

Here the bride is reminded of the responsibilities of the married life. It is wished that she may beget such children as will be a source of joy to her. She has to be ever watchful in the performance of the duties which she, as a householder, owes to Gods, men and lower animals. She is told that the bond of marriage uniting them together has to be completed by conjugal embrace. Finally, as she advances in age, she will have to teach the sacrificial law to her children and grand-children. This office of the mother as a spiritual teacher of her children has an important significance, which will be dealt with in the sequel (para 5). Such are the responsibilities which devolve on the female partner in life from the day of marriage to the time of death.

Materialism

Indian materialism is often confined, rather confused, with the Carvaka or Lokayata school of philosophy resulting into the development of a false notion that prior to the rise of this school, the nature of Indian thought has exclusively been spiritual or other-worldly which reached at its peak in the Brahma-Atman and *moksa* philosophy of the Upanisads, and, consciously or unconsciously, has been responsible for developing a negative approach towards human life and the

world so much so that a group of scholars could call India a land of dreamers and mystics having no concern with the realities of life. The dominance of spiritualism on ancient Indian life and thought has been looked upto that extent at which non-availability of any text of Carvaka or Lokayata the highly materialistic school of philosophy, has been explained by saying that these were wilfully destroyed by those who had their faith in the traditional or Heterodox philosophy because the Carvakas or the Lokayatikas preached a philosophy in the which spiritualism with all its aspects was forcefully denied. But looking at Indian materialism within the fold of Carvaka or Lokayata school will be narrowing its limits. Indian materialism has a historical tradition dating much earlier than the rise of Carvaka or Lokayata school. Its history, as Radhakrishnan says, begins with the beginning of Philosophy itself in India and although it could not be developed as a school or system of philosophy before the rise of Carvaka school, its traces may very clearly be seen in the early passages of even the *Rgveda*. In the present paper an attempt has been made to bring into light the ideas of materialism scattered in the *Rgveda* and their impact on the life of the people of that age.

To start with, it would perhaps be well to have a brief knowledge of the general features of the materialism as such. Materialism, as the name itself indicates, is a philosophical theory in which the primacy of matter over the idea is established. It holds that only the matter is existent or real and is the primordial or the fundamental constituent of the Universe. All events, acts and state of affairs are either subordinate or may be completely reduced to material objects and their interrelationships. Disbelieving fully in and criticising very bitterly, the existence of a God or Creator of the Universe, it says that extended impenetrable, eternally self-existent matter susceptible of motion is the one fundamental constituent of the Universe; mind or consciousness is but a mode or property of such matter psychical processes are reducible to

physical'. Materialism, thus essentially, is a philosophy which begins as a scientific enquiry about the Nature and the Natural affairs and in a natural development reaches to the world of human beings because it considers man as a part of nature who can develop himself finally and fully by satisfying his natural urges. This can be attained through achieving maximum sensuous pleasure in which lies the ultimate end of his life. All human virtues and ideas are aided at this ultimate good and devoid of it no individual or social life can be thought of. This philosophy of pleasure named Hedonism, is the most important branch of the materialistic philosophy of which other branches are Realism, Naturalism, Atomism, Empiricism, etc.

A careful study of the Rgvedic material would reveal that the life in that age was full of joy and cheers. The highest value was attached to the world and worldly objects of pleasures and to achieve these in their maximals was considered to be the ultimate end of life. Interest in other-worldly affairs had not till then influenced the life and thought of the people and though the concepts like Rta, Dharma, Satya and Tapas etc., make us believe of a high moral sense of people as well as the solid ground for the development of an idealistic outlook yet the general tone of the culture reflected through the most of the Rgvedic passages may lead us to think in the opposite direction also. One may easily find some strong references to the centrality or primacy of matter in the Universe which is the first principle of materialism. The famous Nasadiya-sukta of the *Rgveda* may be taken as one of such examples and though there have been several attempts to interpret this hymn in the idealistic manner, Barua had long ago seen the germs of materialism into it. To answer the questions like who creates and ordains? From what does it return? Paramesthin, the author of this Sukta, Barua says, "treated water or matter as the ultimate reality and disavowed all possibilities of the ultra-material substratum, if there be any." He refused to extend his metaphysical enquiry beyond matter. Aghamarsana is another Rgvedic thinker who also accepts water as the

primordial matter. This water, he holds, sprang from *tamas* which according to some scholars, has been understood to mean undifferentiated and undistinguished matter manifesting itself. Aghamarsana, again places the principle of change in 'Samvatsara' or time which formed the basis for the development of the later doctrine of Kalavada which is attributed to the materialists. Barua, in one of the famous statements of *Rgveda*, viz. *ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*, finds a reference to a grey-coloured substance (*palita*) of which not only the Sun, the sustainer of all living beings, is composed but which is also the germs of plants and water.

According to him, Dirghatamas, the author of this hymn, had described water, air and fire as the generating principles. The primary of matter in the Universe has again been established by Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati who says that ultimately the existent (*sat*) originates or springs up from the non-existent (*asat*) and though the word *asat* has been explained in many ways, Skandasvanmin uses the word to mean the infinite matter. He also gives the word *prakriti* as an equivalent to it and it is well-known that the Prakriti has been conceived in the Samkhya System of Indian philosophy as one of the two fundamental realities representing matter. It is no less important to note here that in Indian tradition one Brahaspati has been given the credit for establishing the school of Indian materialism and although the identification of this Brahaspati has been a matter of dispute among the scholars, we find some positive clue in his being identified with the Laukya Brahaspati of the *Rgveda* as Pathak thinks him to be.

Anila is another Rgvedic philosopher who speaks of air (*vayu*) as the first existent, the first born endowed with the generating principle. Dhisana, a disciple of Brahaspati, also believed that 'Padartha' (matter) is the first generating principle in the universe from which everything originates, by which everything exists and ultimately dissolves into. Matter, therefore, is the

only and ultimately real and existent. Mahidasa, following Brahaspati, also accepted that earth, air, water and fire are primary elements through which everything has been created but he includes *akasa* also in this list and declares these five as the primary constituents from which not only Universe and the human beings but gods also have been originated. He also talks of a subtle existence of human beings beyond this physical body and thus seems to have been deviated from the basic principle of materialism yet in his fundamental belief that originally matter was the source of all creation, he leaves no room for any doubt.

All that has been said above is related with the philosophical hymns of the *Rgveda*. Besides these, there are ample references to prove that the Rgvedic people had a positive and the affirmative attitude towards human life and the world which may be taken as an impact of their belief in the materialistic philosophy because materialism, as has already been said begins, undoubtedly, with a study of nature but when brought down to the level of human life, is expressed in a positive and world-affirmative attitude which finally develops in the philosophy of pleasure or Hedonism as can be seen in Carvaka or Lokayata school in India and Epicureanism in ancient Greece. In most of the prayers contained in the *Rgveda*, desires for cows, wealth offsprings, healthy and happy long life, victory over the enemies and all other things necessary for leading a joyful prosperous life have been expressed very early. Achieving maximum worldly pleasure was the main idea in the development of the concept of *svarga* then considered to be the ultimate end of human life for achieving which they sought divine pleasure and blessing through the performance of sacrifices.

The belief in Gods and the rituals performed for them may although be thought just contrary to the basic principle of materialism yet we must remember that the existence of Gods and sacrifices performed in their names were all, primarily

and ultimately, related with the achievement of the things required for making life prosperous and pleasurable and pleasure, as already said, is basically the ultimate end of the life in the philosophy materialism. The growth of prosperity along with the increase in ritual complexity influencing each and every aspect of life may indicate towards the tangents between the two and thus makes it clear why Chattopadhyay sees in sacrifices a mechanism for making increase in production. That the network of social relationship initiated in the earliest phase of the *Rgveda* but developed more and more in the later days may also be understood as an impact of materialism because it is a well-known fact confirmed by historical examples that material conditions play important role in the formation of a socio-system. It is also a fact not to be denied that through the systematic and collective efforts only the surplus production could be earned and a better life could be lived. It is again important to note that in the last phase of Rgvedic period we find a developing social-system based, most probably, on the division of labour which formed the basis of a full-fledged four-fold social-system viz. *varna-vyavastha* in the later days. In the detailed descriptions regarding agricultural and other productive activities in the later passages of the *Rgveda* may also be seen the impact of materialistic thought of the age without which it is not possible to face the difficulties and problems of real life for a people who had to be settled in a foreign land in an unwelcomed atmosphere as a group of scholars things.

The above accounts make it very clear that the culture reflected through the *Rgveda* expressed a strong materialistic tone best suited for the development of materialism as a philosophical School. How and why the people having such strong this-worldly belief could develop a highly transcendental and spiritual philosophy so dominantly that in later days it stood for the identity of Indian culture, is difficult to understand yet the peculiarity of human mind and its unpredictable responses to different historical, social, political, cultural and economic

situations would have been the factors responsible for this development. But it is significant to note here that the materialistic ideas did not disappear in the crowd of ideologies of the later times. They continued to exist as an Iceberg firstly in the ritual complexity and then in the philosophical plurality until they succeeded in developing a system of their own named Lokayata or Carvaka in or after the 7th c. B.C.

Materio-Spiritualism

At present, people misunderstand the word 'spiritualism'. It is generally thought that India is out-and-out a spiritual country and its culture is purely SPIRITUAL to the exclusion of Materialism. This idea has to be revolutionised because Vedic Culture is a combination of both cultures. Spiritualism and Materialism. Hence I would like to call Vedic Culture as Materio-spiritualism. I wish you to convey this idea to the world. Your message to the world should be that pure spiritualism divorced from Materialism is negative life and pure Materialism divorced from Spiritualism is positive death.

With this preamble I proceed further in my Thesis:

Looking far into the historical perspective in Europe, we find that the Church of Rome dominated the entire hemisphere there. Christianity as expounded by the Church reigned supreme. Reason was at a discount. Thinking was channelised, Martin Luther was the first man who rebelled against the dominance of the pope and ushered in an era of Reformation in the form of a Revolutionary Thought. Though Reason was installed on the pedestal of human thinking and man was slowly inching out into the realm of freedom of thought, yet the conflict between Religion and Science, dogmatism and free-thinking continued. On the other hand, divided as the Church was in the form of Roman Catholics and Protestants, they were one as regards their conflict with Science was concerned. The birth of Protestantism, though having seeds of Freedom of Thought, did not reconcile itself

with Scientific Concepts which the movements of reformation had naturally given birth to. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants, though fighting among themselves, were at daggers drawn against scientific and revolutionary discoveries were put in jail and the latter was burnt alive at stake for proclaiming his heliocentric theory. This is what happened in the West. The impending Revolution in Thought in the form of Science was suppressed.

But the history of India teels a different tale. Here Science developed side by side with Relegion. Materialism which is the product of science has been treated as the handmaid of spiritualism which is the product of Religion. As related in the Upanishad Narad, a spiritual describe, approached Maharashi Sanat Kumar, a spiritual saint, with an humble submission that though the had qualified himself in all the sciences worth the name, yet he found within himself a void. He felt that having learnt everything that material knowledge could impart he had gained nothing for the satisfaction of his soul. We are told by the Rishi of Kath Upanished that Nachiketa was offered all the material wealth but the rejected it all saying that treading on that path one developes craving for more and more. In the pursuit of material things of the world there is no terminus.

But this does not mean that the Vedic view of life totally neglected the material side of life. The world of Matter and physical Body were accepted as inescapable realities. The world of matter that we see, and the physical body that we inhabit are solid facts. We can neither ignore the material world nor can we neglect the physical body. These are two separate and independent entities and nolence volence, have to be accepted irrespective of the fact whether we are athesists, agnostics or otherwise. Motion in matter without presuming some power which by itself is not matter without presuming some power which by itself is not matter but is the cause of motion in matter and living body without presuming

some power which by itself is not the body but is the cause of life in the body is inconceivable. That power sets movement in matter and life in the body we respectively call God and Spirit an atheist or an agnostic may prefer to call it by any other name, but the fact remains that moving matter and living body presuppose some power which is not matter and not body but runs into both the Matter and the Body otherwise how can matter move matter and how can body live without the life-giver.

The Vedic concept of life was not one-sided. It was not unadulterated Spiritualism which treated matter as a myth, nor was it un-adulterated Materialism which treated spirit as a superstition. It would be correct to call it by no 'ISM', and if anything, it may be called Pragmatism or Realism. After all, all the material objects are there to be enjoyed or made use of not by matter itself, but by living beings who possess LIFE. Hence, it follows, that material objects are there as means, as instruments for us to make use of. They are not and could not be ends in themselves. This idea has been beautifully exemplified in the life of a Brahmin who prepares himself for Vamprastha Ashram and offers all his wealth to his wife—Maitreyee, for her future maintenance. Maitreyee asked her husband of what use this property would be to her which he himself was renouncing. Yajuyavalkya replied it will be only a means for physical comfort, it will not give the eternal Bliss that human being is seeking as the bonus of life.

The quintessence of Vedic thought is: Be the enjoyer, not the enjoyed; Be the master, not the slave; Be the subject not the object; Be in the world not of the world. This is possible by following the teaching of the *Gita*. Non-attachment — Nishkama Karma — which means: Be in the world and yet out of the world like a lotus in water undrenched by its contact. *Gita* (3-17) calls such a Being as an Atma rata, Atma Tripta, Atma Tushta. Perfect bliss lies in revelling in the self; in being filled by the self; in being satisfied by the self; in being

merged in the self. There is no tension, no fear, no want, no craving. This is the end towards which we all move though halted by diversions in between.

The whole scheme of Vedic life was chalked out on this principle. In *Brachamachrya* one prepared oneself to be fit to enjoy the world; in *Grihastha* he did enjoy the world to his hearts content; in *Vanprastha* the terminus was reached when he became conscious by experience of the ephemeral character of the mundane attachments to life; and lastly, came *Sanyas* when he detached himself off from the small petty grooves in which he had been moving all these days. He detached himself from his family, from his caste, from his society, and even from his society, and even from his country. Renouncing all he became of all. At this stage he became the citizen of the world for whom every man was his brother, every family was his family, every society was his society and every country was the country. In this society was his society and every country was his country. In this detachment oriented-attachment and expansion of the Self he fulfilled the destiny for which the human body is given as a gift by the Almighty.

This is Materio-Spiritual Revolution that an Individual, the Society and the World at large needs, otherwise it will, and is, heading towards DESTRUCTION.

Matsyas

The Matsyas in the epic period lived to the west of the Surasenas of Mathura. Earlier, the *Satapatha Br.* refers to a king of the Matsyas, named Dhavasan Dvaitavana (XIII. 5. 4. 9), as he ruled the territory near the lake Dvaitavana (*Ibid.* "With it (Horse-sacrifice), indeed, Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas sacrificed where this lake Dvaitavana is situated"). This is corroborated also by the *Mahabharata* (*Vanaparva* 24.13 "May we go to the famous lake, Dvaitavana, that is auspicious and large"). According to the *Manusm* (II. 19;

VII. 197) the Matsyas stayed in the Kuruksetra, in the vicinity of the Pancalas and the Surasenas. The area comes roughly to modern Alwar, Bharatpur and Jaipur.

Mathematics of Space

Mathematics of space is creator's space impulses of consciousness of the creator the supreme of the pure knowledge. Impulses of consciousness of Lord Brahma organise as Bindu sarowar of pure knowledge, mathematics of 4-space is the mathematics of the organisational format of the Bindu sarowar. the mathematics of 4-space as three basic aspects, firstly mathematics of structured point of 4-space, secondly mathematics of synthetic body of 4-space and thirdly the mathematics of manifested entity of 4-space.

Mathematics of 4-space is mathematics of formats of 4-space. One aspect of it is the mathematics of the structured point of 4-space. This further has three aspects, the aspect of structured point of the domain, the synthetic body of 4-space and whole range of spaces on the format of 4-space.

(i) *Structured point of domain*: Mathematics of structured point of 4-space as structured point of domain aspect also can be approached three fold, firstly as 4-space content lump, zero value of 4-space domain 4-space point in different roles.

(X) *4-space content lamp*: Mathematics of 4-space content lump is mathematics of tetra-monad format for permitting spilit-up as 4 parts. Tetra-monad can be have as a monad, as di-monad, as tri-monad and as tetra-monad. The three joints of tetra-monad may all remain in dormant state, two of them may remain in dormant state, one of them may be in dormant state and none of them may be in a dormant state. Accordingly mathematics of 4-space content lump would be mathematics of tetra-monad of 4 parts

of three joints with synthetic set-up, splitted parts, of dormant joints and of activised joints.

- (Y) *Zero value of 4-space domain:* Zero value of 4-space domain aspect of 4-space mathemaics is the aspect which can be approached parallel to the format of zero value of the point domain.
 - (Z) *4-space point in different roles:* 4-space point indifferent roles as mathematics aspects is to be approached on the format of point in different roles.
- (ii) Origin point of 4-space : Mathematics of origin pointy of 4-space is to be approached parallel to the format of the origin of the point.
- (X) *Sealed and unsealed origin:* Sealed and unsealed origin aspect of 4-space mathematics is to be approached as sealed and unseated origin of 4-space parallel to the format of sealed and unsealed origin point.
 - (Y) *Zero value at origin:* Mathematics aspect of zero value a origin of 4-space mathematics is to be approached parallel to the format of the zero value at the origin point.
- (iii) All spaces at a point of 4-space: Mathematics aspects of the point of 4-space is to be approached parallel to the format of all space at the point of the domain by taking domain to be the 4-space domain.
- (X) Origin of 4-space as the seat of whole range of spaces: Mathematics aspect of the origin of 4-space as seat of whole range of spaces is to be approached parallel to the format of the origin point as seat of the whole range of spaces by taking origin fold to be the 4-space fold.
 - (Y) *Shift from horizontal to vertical display of spaces at origin of 4-space:* The mathematics aspect of the phenomena of shift from horizontal to vertical

display of spaces at the origin of 4-space is to be approached parallel to the format of the phenomena of shift from horizontal to vertical display of spaces at the origin of the point by taking origin point as 4-space point.

- (Z) *Bindu sarowar within 4-space*: Mathematics aspect of Bindu sarowar within 4-space is taken parallel to the Bindu sarowar of the pure knowledge.

Metallurgy and Minerology

Among the metals the oft-mentioned is gold which was the symbol of the sun in rituals. The *Rgveda* has reference to the swing of gold (VII.87.5) “(the sun, that is) the golden swing in the heaven”. The Indus is referred to as golden (X.75.8 “The Sindhu having good horses, good chariots, having good garments, the golden one”, *hiranyayi*). The Sarasvati is also said to be *hiranya-vartani*. It is not improbable that the beds of these rivers washed gold from after. From gold were produced ornaments like *niska* and *rukma*. These appear to be ritual ornaments also, as a bad (or inauspicious) dream of the artisan who prepared the *niska* or the garland of gold was desired to go to Trita Aptya (RV. VIII. 47.15 *niskam va kranavate srajam va...trite dussvapnyam paridadmasi*). As we have already seen, the silver-*niska* was worn by the Grahapati of the Vratyas, as mark of distinction. Ear-ornaments are also mentioned (RV. VIII.78.33 “Indeed, for us bring many *karnasobhanas*”. It was customary to give the container made of gold to the sacrificer (Taitt. Sam. V.7 *hiranya-patram madhoh purnam dadati*; also *sat. Br.* V.1.2.19 *hiranya-patrena madhu-graham grhanati*). Hundred-weight gold is mentioned as the sacrificial gift (*Sat. Br. satamanani hiranyani daksina*). The silver is indicated by the word *rajata*; but this word indicated in the early stages whitish gold as against the real yellow type (AV. V. 28 *harite trini, rajate trini*).

The difference between gold and silver is indicated very subtly, when it is said. "Gold is the bright lustre, so is the sun and lustre; silver...is of the kind of the night, prior to being cut" (*Aitareya Br.* VII. 12.2). This would show that silver was dark and gloomy, and shone when cut. It is not improbable that it was developed from lead also. But lead was known independently; and in an interesting passage, it is compared with a eunuch, obviously, being very soft and luster-less (*Maitrayani Sam.* II.4.1 *anrtam vai siso, anrtam klibo*; also *Taitt. Sam.* I.8.5.3. "With lead he purchases from the in such tender grass"). The various metals are mentioned in the following passage: "For me gold, for me *ayas* (iron)?, for me *syamam* (dark metal), for me the reddish metal (*loham*) and for me the tin (*trapu*) may be available by sacrifice" (*Vaj. Sam.* XVIII.13). The list occurs at other texts also. Lead and tin are already noted by the *Atharvaveda* (XI. 3.8, where *odana*, "cooked grain" is described as having "the ashes of the *trapu*, the colour of gold and the fragrance of the blue lotus". The colour for gold suggests that turmeric also was added to it, though not mentioned). About the horse it is said "His horn is that of gold, his feet are of *ayas*: (I. 163.9). Agni is said to have the jaws of *ayas* (X.80.2 "Having the jaws of *ayas* as you are, touch the magic-mongers with the flames"). In the first case, probably the horses had the horse-shoe made of *ayas*; or, if it indicates the colour of the hooves, the *ayas* must have been darkish (like iron?). It will be interesting to note, in this connection, that the German word '*Eisen*' (which is phonetically similar to *ayas*) indicates iron as well as the horse-shoe or any instrument made of iron. But the horse-shoe is not mentioned clearly in the Vedic period, nor is it known if iron was used for it, if at all it was used. The *Atharvaveda* mentions *ayas* of two types, and the comparison of these two is striking: "(Of the cosmic Man) the dark (*syamam*) *ayas* is the flesh; the *lohita* (reddish metal) is the blood" (AV. III.3.6). This corresponds to the *syama* and the *loha* mentioned by the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.*, noted

above. The comparison of flesh does not indicate that *syama* is iron, but that it is some dark brown metal, probably bronz. But, if we revert to the passage from the *Vajasaneyi-Sam*, *ayas* is mentioned quite separately of *syama* or *loha*; it would, thus, indicate a separate metal. If *syama* is bronz and *loha* the copper, what about simple and pure *ayas*?

A clear distinction between these three cannot simply be taken to indicate that the latter two are the types of the former (the exact reading is *syamam ca me ayas ca me lohas ca me trapu ca me*, where all the metals are independent of one another). The period of the *Rgveda* shows that the hard metal was called *ayas*, and it indicated all hard metals without difference; but later, with the varieties of the hard metals being known, the difference came to be indicated, the original metals being known, the difference came to be indicated, the original metal, *ayas* in the early period, the period of the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.*, or for that matter that of the *Yajurveda Samhita* in general, indicates familiarity with iron. That comes, roughly to about the 12th century B.C.

The smelting of *ayas* was known in the *Rgvedic* times. A poet says, "As do the skilful artizans smelt and blow the *ayas*" (IV. 2.17); Brahmanaspati is compared with the smith (X.72.2 "Brahmanapati melted these worlds like the artizen"). The word *adhamat* (fr. *dhma*, "to blow") indicate the use of the bellows; and the smith is referred to as blowing the firs (RV. V.9.5 *dhmata-iva dhamati*).

The absence of iron in the *Rgveda*, and also in the *Atharvaveda*, is corroborated by the evidence of the excavations. The Indus cities do not answer the use of iron, but show the marked use of copper, bronz and other metals; iron was however noted in the prehistoric tombs of the Godavari region. The Bronz or copper was used where, in later times, iron got to be used is clear from "two copper swords, or dirks...were among the most welcome finds at Mohenjo-daro" (Mackay, p. 127); "the spear-blades used in

the Indus cities are an unusual type, the largest of very thin bronz..." (Ibid.); "One of the most interesting tools yet unearthed is a bronz saw..." "One very fine bronz axe-adze". *Ayas* of the *Rgveda*, likewise, does not seem to indicate iron, especially in view of the fact that the flames of fire are said to be his jaws made of *ayas*, as noted above. Here *ayas* clearly indicates the reddish brown metal (copper or bronz). Cooper "might have been brought from Afghanistan"; and the *Rgveda* already knew the Gandhari tribe, or other tribes near about the region, as we have noted. Tin is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, and it comes for the first time in the *Atharvaveda*, which knew the Magadha region on the eastern flank of India. "It was absent from Baluchistan and was rare in India". There is no clear mention of this metal in the Indus excavations; but its use is inferred from the fact that it is necessary to toughen copper; and, in the copper from Mohenjo-daro 2-per cent of tin was found. If the *Rgvedic* weapons were made of copper or bronz (*ayas*), it is interesting to surmise whence the supplies of the alloy came. Probably, like copper, tin also "came from Afghanistan".

Milk and Milk-Products

Fresh milk (*prati-duh*, AV.IX.4.4; *Sat. Br.* III. 3.3.2 etc.) and *piyusa* (drinkable milk) were common (RV.X.87.17 "The yearly milk of the cow;...and the *piyusa*, O Agni"). There is no mention of the milk of buffaloes, though their flesh is mentioned as noted earlier; also there is no reference to *navanita* (butter) from the buffalo (*mahisa*). Probably the milk of the *mahisa* was *taboo* due to the black colour of animal. Other products of milk were *vajina* (mixed milk) and the *phanta* (creamy butter). Curd was popular. Ghee was named variously according to the state of the product. *Amiksa* (cotted milk), like *phanta* and other things, does not come in the *Rgveda*; but there should be no doubt of the things being used, though it is only a negative proof. The various materials may be noted from the following representative

passage: "Soma! You are mixed with *ksira*, in the middle (i.e. mid-day) pressing; and with *dadh*" (RV VIII.2.9 Soma was mixed with curds to form the *dadhy 'asira*, with milk to form *go-asira* and with barley to form *yava-asira*). Further, "May the cows give *amiksa*, *ksira*, and *sarphi*" (AV X.9.13). And, "What was freshly gathered was *navanita*; as it moved (being liquid) it became the *sarpih*; as it got collected it became *ghrta* (solid)". Navanita was from the milk of the cow (and not from that of the buffalo): "Of the cow it is what the *navanita* is (*gor va etat yam navanitam*); that is 'newly gathered' (*so navanita*); *ghrta* is for the gods, *phanta* for men" (*Sat.Br.* III. 1.3.7;8). This shows that *phanta* is a stage in between the *navanita* and *ghrta*.

Monotheism and Monism

In the fifth verse of RV. 2.12, a henotheistic hymn to the war-god indra, there is a starting reference to religious scepticism. Some people, it says, asked about Indra, 'where is he?', and even dared to say, 'He is not at all!' Of course, the pious author rejects this view; but the fact that he refers to it may be significant. Without going so far as the sceptics, and still keeping within the orthodox ritualistic sphere, some advanced thinkers went beyond henotheism. Instead of simply identifying all gods with one of their number, or attributing to one of them the cosmic powers which traditionally belonged to them all, some new figure is set up to receive such attributes as certain of all things, and supremacy over gods, men, animals, and natural powers. This new figure may be, and in Vedic hymns most often is, personalised as a sort of super-gods, in which case we may speak of tentative monotheism; or it may be impersonal, when the author seems to strive to reach an ultimate First Principle, an abstraction, a tentative monism. But the distinction between these two was probably not very sharp or clear to the Vedic poets.

In nearly all the few hymns of this sort found in the Rg Veda,

the authors show close contact with hieratic ritualism. So RV. 10.125 is a self-laudation of *Vac*, literally 'speech', to be rendered 'Holy Utterance', since it (or she; the word is grammatically feminine) is a personification of Vedic hymnal composition. Especially in the first two verses, she supports or inspires the chief gods of the pantheon; the list reminds us of the gods henotheistically identified with Agni in RV. 2.1 and 5.3. But the spirit is new; they are not identified with her; she is supreme over them all, and over the universe (including, of course importantly the ritual). In another hymn to *Vac*, RV. 10.71, the priestly sodality and their search for the inspiration of Holy Utterance. Later Hindu tradition makes 'knowledge' (*jnana*) the theme of the hymn; a very sound and significant analysis, to which we shall return. In a different way, RV. 10.121, with its tentative monotheism, seems also a development from henotheism. It is suspected to containing actual verbal reminiscences from the Indra-hymn 2.12 (fn.2). But instead of the latter's refrain, 'He, O folk, is Indra,' 10.121 ends each verse with 'To what god shall we do homage with oblation? (instead of Indra, as it were). It proclaims a Demiurge, creator, animator, and ruler of the universe; but never names him (expected in the last verse which names Prajapati, the 'Lord of Creatures', but seems to be a late addition).

In RV. 10.81 and 82 the demiurge is 'the All-maker' (*Visvakarman*), who in 10.81.7 has the epithet 'Lord of Holy Utterance' (*Vacaspati*); this is equivalent to *Brhaspati* (10.71.1) or *Brahmanas-pati* (10.72.2), 'Lord of the Holy Word', (*brh-* or *brahman*, 'hymn or incantation').

But in more abstract, monistic contexts it is an unnamed 'One' or 'That One', neuter in gender, which RV. 1.164.46 says 'the seers' refer to by names of various gods (a carry-over from henotheism), While RV. 10.129.2 and 3 posts it as utterly independent (the gods are 'later', vs.6). This remarkable hymn struggles towards purely negative characterisations; in the

beginning there was 'neither non-existent nor existent'.

But the ancient Hindu thinkers, even if they sometimes recognised that they could not, in the nature of things, know the Unknowable, still kept returning to the struggle again and again, from ever varied points of attack. In the Rg Veda itself, in one of its latest hymns (10.90), appears the first trace of a strain of monistic thought which is of the greatest importance for later Hindu philosophy: the universe is treated as parallel in nature to the human personality. The First Principle in this hymn is called *purusa*, that is 'Man' or 'Person'. From the several parts of this cosmic person are derived, by a still rather crude process of evolution, all existing things. The significance of this lies in its anticipation of the Upanisadic view of the identity of the human soul (later called *atman*, literally 'self, as a rule) with the universal principal.

The Atharva Veda also contains speculative materials. At times they are monotheistic in tendency. The 'Lord of Creatures', Prajapati, appears again and again, as a kind of demiurge; and other names are invented for the same or similar figure, such as the 'Establisher', Dhatar, or the 'Arranger', Vidhatar, or 'He that is in the Highest', Paramesthin. But never does such a figure attain anything like the definite dignity which we associate with a genuine monotheistic deity. And more often the interest centres around less personal, more abstract entities, either physical or metaphysical, or more or less both at one. The sun, especially under the mystic name of Rohita, 'the Ruddy One', enjoys a momentary glory in several Atharva-Vedic charms, which invest him with the functions of a cosmic principle. Or the world is developed out of water, we are reminded to Thales, the first of the Greek philosophers. The wind, regarded as the most subtle of physical elements and as the 'life-breath' (*prana*) of the universe, plays at times a like role, and by being compared with man's life-breath it contributes to the development of the cosmic

'Person' (Purusa) of the Rg Veda into the later Atman or Soul (of man) as the Supreme One. The word *atman* itself seems actually to be used in this way in one or two late verses of the Atharva Veda. The power of Time (*kala*) or of Desire (*kama*)—a sort of cosmic will, reminding us of Schopenhauer—is elsewhere treated as the force behind the evolution of the universe. Or, still more abstractly, the world—all is derived from a hardly defined 'Support', that is a 'Fundamental Principle' (*skambha*), on which everything rests. These and other shadowy figures flit across the stage of later Vedic speculation. Individually, few of them have enough definiteness or importance to merit much attention. But in the mass they are of great value for one who would follow the development of Hindu speculation as a whole.

The real underlying motive and rationale of all this 'monism', this seeking for a single principle in the universe, cannot be understood without reference to the principle of *identification* as it appears in Vedic texts; most clearly in the Brahmanas (above, p. 17). A very striking feature of these works is their passion for identification of one thing with another, on the slenderest possible basis; indeed, often on no basis at all that we can discover. The purpose was strictly practical; more specifically, magical. It was to get results by setting cosmic forces in motion. To this end a cosmic force was said to 'be' this or that other thing, which other thing we can control. 'By grasping or controlling one of the two identified entities, the possessor of the mystic knowledge as to their identity has power over the other, which is in fact no other' but really the same. For instance, 'the cow is breath'; I control a cow, therefore I control breath, my own life-breath, or someone else's. that is the only reason for the fantastic identification. We want to control, let us say, the breath of life, in ourselves or someone else (perhaps an enemy); so we earnestly and insistently identify it with something that we can control, and the trick is turned.

Moral Philosophy

The Vedas are the earliest literary record of Indo-European civilisation. By the term "Vedas" we mean the product of human thought extending over centuries, and we generally include in it the four Samhitas, the *Rgveda*, *Samaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*, Brahmanas on the one hand, and the Aranyakas and the Upanisads on the other, which came into existence in different periods of time. Even in each of the Samhitas we find evidences of collections of hymns of different periods, grouped together under one common name. Thus, Vedic civilisation meant various lines of primitive thought and practices which grew and developed over a vast area of time. It is difficult, therefore, to have a systematic and chronological account of the Vedic people; but a careful study of the hymns of the Samhitas, the ritual of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas (which tended to develop in intellectual lines, the culmination of which was in the Upanisads) and the Upanisads, give a general idea of the people's current beliefs, their habits and morals. Most of these problems have been successfully dealt with by many competent scholars in the West and the East. The present attempt is to give some idea about the beliefs of the Vedic people concerning future existence, which has a bearing on their ideas about the good, their ethical standard, and the means prescribed for it, which in later periods, formed the very foundation-stone of almost all the systems of Indian thought.

The Vedic people worshipped various deities, either personified from striking natural phenomena, or symbolising great power, strength, wealth and vigour as might be natural with a vigorous people. Among the different hymns addressed to various deities, we find a number of eulogies paid to the *pitrs* (fathers) and to death. The primitive mind, sensitive to the various influences of nature, would, in awe and admiration, pour forth its homage in material form to the indwelling spirits personified; and also being terror-stricken at the destruction wrought by

the phenomenon of death, it would bow down in fear and express the most piteous wailing and prayers of the human heart. We find in some verses the worshipper expressing his intention of drawing a line or boundary round the living so that death may not approach them. Death is often eulogised, and is requested to leave the sacrificers. The *Atharvaveda* consists of a number of hymns which voice the innermost dread of death and the anxious yearings of the human heart to avoid it, to resist it, if possible, by pathetic appeals. Thus AV. 30 says "Remain, here O man with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama; come to the abodes of living...Fear not, thou shalt not die, I make thee long-lived...Provide him, O Agni, with breath and sight, restore him...let him not depart or become a dweller in a house of clay. This world is the dearest, unconquered by the god's. "Again in AV. VIII.2 the worshipper says 'I shall make a remedy for him, O Death, do not kill the man...Befriend him, do not seize him, let him go, though he is thine only, let him abide with all his strength...O Death, pity him, let him arise.' The uncertainty of the destiny after death makes the heart of the invoker tremble and he says in AV. VIII. 1. 'Do not follow this path; it is terrible; I speak of that by which thou has not hitherto gone. This, O man is darkness, do not enter it. Beyond, thou hast fear, on this side, thou hast security'. The earnest desire for immortality is expressed in AV.VIII.2. 'Be undying, immortal, long-lived; let not thy breath abandon thy body. May the gods deliver thee from those hundred deaths'.

An interesting story as to the origin of death is narrated in the *Satapatha Brahmana* X.1.4.1. Prajapati is described to have produced various creatures, along with death, out of himself, half of him was immortal and half mortal. Having created death, he was afraid of it in his mortal part, and entered earth and water. Death looked out for him but having learnt the cause of his fear, give the assurance that it would not destroy him (Prajapati). The gods found him out and made him immortal. The five parts of him were mortal, the hair, skin,

flesh, bone and marrow; and the mind, voice, breath, eye, ear were immortal. It is also described there how gods were awarded immortality by Prajapati when they performed certain rites. Thus Prajapati, who was the cause of creation, was also the origin of death. This idea tallies with the biological truth that the same process which accounts for life has also the germs of destruction embedded in it. A similar idea may be traced in the *Vysabhasya* on the *Yogasutra* 2.18 and 1.12 where the movement of the *gunas* accounts both for *samsara*, its enjoyment and bondage, as also for *apavarga*, liberation from it.

When the gods obtained immortality, Death objected to it, saying that in the same way all men could become immortal and nothing would be left for it to consume. To this they replied that no other person should ever become immortal with his body; and this body would be left for death. He, who was to become immortal by knowledge or work could be immortal only after parting with his body. Those who did not know this were to be born again and again and be the food of death.

A long with this instinctive fear of death, the idea of the continuity of existence of the dead can also be traced from various other hymns. The term 'aja' occurs both in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, and may be translated as 'unborn' in certain contexts, which implies also that which is undecaying, eternal, and which persists even through death. Thus Agni is invoked in RV.X.16.16 to kindle the unborn part (*ajo bhagah*) in man with its heat and flame, and carry it to the world of the righteous, to which the ancient departed.

It has also been used in the sense of a sacrificial goat elsewhere and is described as passing over to the third world travelling through a wide region of darkness. The term, however, may also mean one who moves, drives, (if derived from the root *aj*, to move, to drive) and, as such, may imply that part of a man which persists, moves on to another places after death. Sayana takes it to mean "that which is devoid of

any birth and quite different from the body and the senses, and is the internal self. Whatever the conception might have been we find quite a number of hymns invoking Agni, Yama, Varuna for the safe journey of the departed. Separated as we are, as also even Sayanacarya was, from the Vedic period by a wide gulf of so many centuries, it is difficult to trace out of them a clear and consistent theory about life after death, and we can only offer some suggestions, the probability of which may be attested by corroborating evidences through which certain aspects of truth may be revealed.

When the man is dead, his body is placed on the funeral fire and the god of fire is invoked not to scorch or disfigure the body, but to make it mature and then carry it to the world of the fathers (*pitrs*). Thus RV. X.16.1 states 'Do not Agni, burn up or consume him (the deceased); do not dissolve his skin, or his body. When thou hast matured him, O Jatavedas, then send him to the fathers'.

AV, XVIII. 4.10-13 and 64 state 'Whatever limb of you, Agni, Jatavedas left behind when conveying you to the world of the fathers, that I here restore to you. Revel in heaven, fathers, with your parts'. Though the body was seen to be consumed, the people believed in a further existence to be continued in a body very similar to that which was burnt up, and hence Agni was fervently prayed to, for keeping all the parts of the body intact and not to lose any. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* (XI.2.2.1) a man is said to be thrice born; firstly, from his parents, secondly, through sacrifice and third time, when after death and cremation, he once more emerges into life. Sometimes, a feeling of uncertainty as to the further course of the different parts of the body that is being consumed by fire is expressed, in spite of the strong conviction about the continuity of existence after death. Thus it is said 'Let his eye go to the sun, the breath to the wind. Go to the sky, and to the earth, (according to the nature of several parts) or go to the waters, if that is suitable for the; enter into the plants

with your limbs. It is very difficult to say whether the Vedic people believed in a future existence in a gross body similar to the which they had here one earth, or, whether they had the idea of a subtle form having all the organs of sense entitled as *linga* (subtle form) in later literature. But the continued emphasis on having all the limbs of the body that is being cremated in fire, safe and connected may hint at the suggestion of a *linga* form which occupied a very important position in later systems of thought. Agni is also requested to show the path to the departed since he may be bewildered by the smoke of the fire. Thus the *Taittiriya Brahmana* states, 'a man confused and overcome by the smoke of the fire does not recognise his own world. He, who knows this Agni Savitra, knows his own world'.

The anxiety for the protection of each part of the body is very great. The Sat. Br., X.1.5.4 says whatever part of him who performed sacrifices (*darsapurnamasa, catumasya* etc.). is separated even, as if, by a straw, becomes immortal, unending and unlimited.

In the Brahmana, the enquiry about a spirit as different from the body gradually began to dawn and led to the subtle intellectual discussions in the Upanisads. Thus Yajnavalkya was asked by Aruabhaga that after death, speech went to the fire, the breath to the wind, the eye to the sun, the mind to the moon, the ear to the quarters, the body to the earth, now where did the spirit lie? The reply of Yajnavalkya was the identification of the agent with his actions which is to be discussed in our section on the Upanisads since this passage occurs also in the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*.

The fathers are divided into lower, upper and middle classes (RV., X. 15.1 and Vaj S., XIX. 49). The principle of classification may be in order of seniority regarding the time of death. Thus in the second verse of RV. X.15, it is mentioned that reverence may be paid to those who departed first, who departed last, and who are in the terrestrial region. Sayana

commenting on RV. X.15.1 says that among the fathers, those who performed Srauta rites belong to the first order, those who carried out only the Smṛti injunctions are on the second order, while those that missed even these are of the lowest order. Mahidhara, however, commenting on the identical verse which occurs in Vaj, S., XIX. 49, classifies the fathers as those residing in this world, those in the other world and those in the middle regions. Three heavens or different spheres have been described through which the dead pass. In AV. VI. 122.4, the sacrificer prays for the third and the highest heaven to which he may go after death for enjoyment of pleasure. In AV. Agni is often requested to carry the sacrificer to his most gracious home in heaven and to protect him from anything dreadful in air sky. The *Aitareya Brahmana* describes Agni as the cord, the bridge, by which men are carried over to heaven. In *Taitt. Br.*, II.4.2.6. it is said, 'Agni exploring the ancient above, has extended the celestial cord. Thou, Agni, art our cord, and our bridge; thou art the path which conducts to the gods'.

Morning Recitation

In the Soma sacrifices in the morning the Hotr recites hymns for invoking Agni, Usas and Asvins. This is called Prataranuvaka. The deities invoked here are in the order for their appearance at the commencement of the day. Towards the close of the night, early in the morning Agni is enkindled; the Usas, the dawn, makes her appearance in the sky, and afterwards Asvins, the morning (and also the evening) stars, are visible in the sky. The deities represent the three threefold worlds. By the recitation of the hymns from the RV in their honour, these worlds are conquered. The attainment, conquest and distance are the features of the worlds of the gods (AB 2.7). In the morning litany in the Rgvedic hymn (1.74.1), the waters are addressed. The *rc* contains the words "up" and "advancing". 'Up' is the symbol of the worlds and Agni and "advancing" is the symbol of the yonder world and the Sun.

In all resaddressed to Agni, Usas and Asvins the first utterance is the symbol of Agni and the second is of the sun (KB 11.4). In the morning prayer, in the hymns addressed to Agni, Usas and Asvins, there are various metres and between them there are many pits as it were. Agni and Surya are the two strongest, the uninjured and the untroubled deities. With the metres the scrificer mounts to the world of the sun. The morning litany is sort of ladder to mount to the world of the sun from the world of Agni. With the hymns he mouths. He does not fall down. His ascending is heavenly. When there arises a difference in the authorship of the hymns, then without taking breath he should step over the next hymn of another seer. His breath (*Prana*) is the immortality. By the immortality he passes over death.

The Brahmana considers that the amrtatva, the non-dying state is to be achieved by means of the sacrifices. This state is the continuation of the Prana for ever. Therefore, it is maintained that the breath (Prana) is amrtava, which is achieved by overcoming death. The hymns indifferent metres and by the different authors are to be recited continuously without a break of the breath and with the utterance of Pranava. Just as one passes over a pit by means of a beam or a plank, so with Pranava he passes over the hymns of the different authors. The pranava is the Brahman. With the Brahman he continues the holy power. Thus the idea of overcoming death, amratava, Pranava, breathcontrol and the attainment of the Brahman had already gained ground in the earlier Brahmanas (KB II.4).

In the morning litany, where there are more authors in one hymn one should utter Pranava very clearly. This Pranava is investigated as to the fact that it is pure and full form (KB 11.5).

Mother

The Vedic Suktas had been gradually arranged in Samhitas; the various branches of the Veda had their Samhitas; it was

at this time that the vast literature known as the Brahmanas came into existence. This is said in particular reference to the procedure of Yagas. Why a particular Yaga should be performed in a particular manner, why its *angas* and their order should be in the prescribed manner, what is the fruit of the Yaga-procedure, these and similar details are explained in the Brahmanas. These works are in prose; but in conformity with the explanations, a number of language modes, etymologies, special equations, and various imaginary or legendry folk-rooted stories and tales, and versified *gathas* handed down by tradition have crept in these works occasionally. This is the reason why this Brahmana literature, although very dry, has been much entertaining and from cultural viewpoint very significant. Of course, it must always be remembered that the specific aim of this literature is the explanation of the yaga procedure. In this procedure as well as the performance of the Yagas, *mantras* have to be used at various places. These *mantras* have been taken from the Veda-samhitas. But as their utterance is specifically in the context of sacrifices, the word *mantra* does not denote only 'a statement of the Veda' but a new definition of the word has been made in the context of Yajna-sastra and it denote the reminding of a particular meaning at the time of sacrificial procedure and suggesting the action of actual procedure. The Brahmanas too say frequently that when the *Rc*-mantra speaks of the action to be performed actually it acquires a 'perfection', the action appears in perfectly developed form. Such perfection of form does not appear always. But as no sacrificial act can proceed without the simultaneous utterance of *mantras*, the Vedic *Rcs* come in the Brahmana-literature in ample measure as part of sacrificial explanation. This results sometimes in the repetition of Vedic ideas in the Brahmanas. This is true of the idea of 'mother' in the Rgveda.

Aranyakas denote the next stage of Vedic literature after the Brahmanas. They were formed or are to be studied in a forest, that is, in the quiet of solitude. The Aranyakas do contain

sacrificial explanations; but the literature is given more to contemplation. That is why, these works appear to be a linked between the Brahmanas and the Upanisads. However, while explaining the use of a particular *rc* in a particular ritual context or while explaining a particular sacrificial performance, the authors of the Aranyakas have something special to say. This sometimes gives a new colouring to the repeated ideas. A examination of the ideas in connection with 'mother' is desired here from the Brahmanas and Aranyakas.

The basic, biological idea that is present in the notion of 'mother' is naturally reflected in the Brahmana literature. A story is told in explaining the creation of 'Rathantara Saman: Vrsa Jana, the Purohita of Triyaruna Aiksvaka, was passing when two Brahmana boys were under caught his chariot. A charge a slaughter came on him. He prayed to the gods; he was able to see the Rathanantara Saman and he succeeded in bringing the dead boys to life again. The *Mantra* in this Saman is from the Rgveda and the description is of Agni born from rubbing two Aranis together. The Arani that is lower is the mother and larger one is the father. This is parallel to the action of conception. The child is in the womb of the mother for some time; and it is seen by all when she gives birth to it. The birth of Agni from the Aranis is explained here by a biological idea and this is taken up by the Brahmana.

The Brahmana authors use the idea of generation in different contexts. While explaining why an oblation is to be offered to Agni Pavamana it is said that Pavamana is food, is Prana: Prana comes to the child when it is born; it begins to breathe. As long as the child is in the womb of the mother its breath is in the breath of the mother; but when it is born it is born it begins to breathe separately. This is breath of food in a way. The biological process is connected where with the sacrificial one. Sankhayana Aranyaka says that man is season or the offspring of a season : this idea is expressed in the same way. Citra Gangayani explains to Svetaketu who had come to him

as a pupil that Candra (Moon) is the gateway to heaven. All dead to go to the Moon. In the first fortnight the Moon accommodated them in himself, in the second fortnight the Moon gives them new birth, according to their learning, according to their actions. So, when asked by the Moon on arrival, 'Who are you?' the reply should be given, 'I have come through the seeds of the season; they are my father and mother for twelve-thirteen months; I am season, the child of seasons. Now through the active father sprinkle me in the mother'. This explanation contains the process of geneation; it also contains the colours of season-birth, I think. In the 'Putramantha' prescription of the Satapatha Brahmana, the mother's nature as a giver of birth is plainly revealed. This rite is to be performed after the birth of a son. The man touches his wife who has become a mother and says, 'You are Ida like Mitra-varuna. You have given birth to a hero among heroic men. So, you became a mother of heroes, as you have given us the (title of) hero-fathers'.

Having established Agnihotra, the necessity and importance of offering oblations to the Agni each morning and evening is stated; it is stated at the time that Prajapati performed Agnihotra and saved Himself from death in the form of Agni and took new birth. The birth from mother and father is one; after death a man is cremated; Agni burns only the body of a man; but Agni gives a new birth too; Agni gives new birth to the man who accomplishes Agnihotra; it is only the man who does not perform Agnihotra who does not get new birth. It is obvious that the idea of Agnihotra-accomplishment is based on that of regeneration.

With the acceptance of the imagery of birth, mother-father-son, the idea of a couple or the triad comes naturally. In the various rites whenever something is stated to be performed three times, the Brahmana authors support it by such an imagery. The Sathapatha Brahmana uses its imagery many times. For example, the altar to be formed for Vaisvadeva is

not supposed to be very tall. In this context the *barhis* (*darbha*, the holy grass) are made into three separate bundles and all of them are tied in one lot. The justification for this procedure is that the nature of birth is like this: Mother and father from the couple giving the birth; the son born from them is the third part; these three are really one only; that is why the three are made into one. Thus the blossoming sticks of grass are tied together and they are employed as *prastara* (the symbol of Yajamana). This is supposed to be a union capable of giving birth.

The girdle which a Yajamana wears at the time of initiation is made from *taga*. While explaining that Prajapati took birth from sacrifice, the imagery of *garbhanala-jarayu* is used, and *ulba* or *nala* is compared to the thread of *taga* as it is soft. The girdle of *taga* is woven with three strands. The justification is mother-father-son are really one. Also, food or animals are three fold; this is another reason why the string of *taga* is triple-stranded.

On the altar, near the Fire, a stick of wood is fixed standing in a hole. To prevent it from being bare, a string of thread is fastened to its upper end. This string is three-layered; as food is triple. Food means animals; it is threefold. Besides, mother and father are two, the son who takes birth is the third. So, three-stranded covering of a string (in the language of sacrifice, *casala*) is wrapped round like a string.

The Yajamana while preparing for Agnyadhana takes wet earth and prepares the *sthali* for Agni. Then he and his wife who has been initiated prepare bricks from the same earth (known as *ajeya*, *sarva-prakasi*). This action is described by the idea of birth or generation. The creation of *sthali* and bricks is like the creation of son from oneself, after oneself. Three lines are drawn on these bricks. This is also a symbol of generation: Mother-father-son, or *garbha-ulba-jarayu*.

While constructing the sacred altar, ten groups, each consisting

of three bricks, are taken. They are the symbols of ten metres. One more brick is taken as a symbol of redundant metre. Here too the reason for taking a group of three bricks each is that animals are threefold; mother-fat-son, is a triad; *garbha-ulba-jarayu* form a triad; or agriculture, rain, seed form the triad for producing food. As the three seem to be present in life and in the creation of nature, it is quite proper to have three bricks forming a group and three lines drawn on each of them.

These bricks are symbols of metres. On the day of Mahavrata the Hotr is to recite *mahaduktha* (the great laudatory praise); the bricks are connected with these metres. The earthen *sthali* (sacrificial name, *ukha*) in which the Garhapatya Fire (burning coals) is to be taken is first filled with sand. Sand is as it were the seed of fire. This sand produces fire first as a seed, and then actually as a fire. The idea of a mother and the son produced by her is naturally present here; but it is also brightened by a secular truth. Agni is supposed to be produced twice from the *sthali*; *ukha* or *sthali* is of female form; a woman can give birth to a child, and can again be pregnant and give birth to a second child; similarly *ukha* can produce Agni twice; once, in the form of a seed (burning sand), and secondly, as a burning fire.

While making the ending oblations of *avabhrtha*, the Rtvij named Prati-prasthata dips the laddle *pracarani sruk* twice separately, and makes the offering; once he holds the line of ghee. It is said that this action is like that of taking the *garbha* out of the belly of a dead mother or the stomach of a cow. In the sacrificial procedure, however, the proper *brahman* and *yajus* are uttered, and so the mother and her son are met again.

In the context of Darsapurnamasa sacrifice three births of man are spoken of : the one from mother and father; when a Rtvij makes a man perform a sacrifice, make him offer oblations, that is second; and when a man dies and the dead

body is placed on fire Agni gives him a new birth, which is the third.

Aditi is the mother of gods. Aditi is father, son, everything. Whatever comes to birth, whatever is to come to birth, all that is Aditi. This Rgvedic idea comes in this portion.

The idea that Prathivi is mother and Dyaus is father is similar; it is repeated many times. The Brahmanas contain in their explanations the three ideas, viz., Mahi or Prathivi is mentioned along, Dyavaporthivi are mentioned together, and Prthivi is said to be the same as Aditi.

While besmearing the Yupa with ghee it is said, 'May you be standing straight here or may you be lying horizontal on the lap of mother Earth; may you give us all kinds of corn'. Here Earth is the mother of the Yupa. Sometimes the *vedi* constructed on the earth is taken as the mother of the Yupa. On the third or fourth day of the Dvadaskha *yaga* and *sastras* (*rcs* in praise) which are to be recited (*upa srja dharunam mataram*) contain a similar prayer : 'He who created this earth, the mother, along with us, he who gives goods and looks after us, he should give similar wealth, vigour, health and strength and protect us'. In the *mantras* of Vajapeya Mahi or Prthivi is imagined as mother and prayed; in it there is a desire that the performer of sacrifice should receive protection as a mother protects her child.

While preparing the *vedi*, the *amedhya* or unsacred things on the ground are to be removed first. For this purpose the earth is to be dug. While doing this, the prayer is offered, 'May the Earth be beneficial to us, may we have progeny'. Earth is the mother; so, while digging it its pardon and prayer for blessing are quite proper.

Rathantara saman begins with the *mantra*, *Namo matre Prthivyai*. If the sacrificial pots of earth are broken a *prayscitta* procedure is prescribed. While doing it, one has to touch the broken pots and say. 'Earth has gone to the

earth, mother has gone to the mother'. The earthen pot and *bhumi*, the earth, both are earthen, of the nature of mother; hence the *mantra*, the mother has gone to the mother. There is purification in this; but also prayer for the obtainment of sons and cattle. The author of the Brahmana text intends the obtainment of the sacrificial fruit for himself and the sacrificer by it.

Where the sacrificial *Yupa* is erected, a ladder is placed there to climb it. When the Yajamana has climbed it the *mantra*: *Mamo mantra Prthivyai* is recited. A story is told in this connection. When Brhaspati took initiation of sacrifice the Earth was afraid. The initiation has made Brhaspati really great; will he shatter me? This is the fear of Earth. And Brhaspati is equally afraid that the Earth may topple him down. The *mantra* is supposed to create a bond of friendship between Prthivi and Brhaspati and also the Yajamana. It is suggested in the Brahmanas that this relation is that of mother and son. Prthivi is the mother, Brhaspati or Yajamana is the son. To convince of this bond of direction it is said. 'A mother will never injure her son, and the son his mother'. (*Na hi mata putram hinasti na putra mataram*). Further, it is stated that the feast of *Somarasa* prepared by Brhaspati is like that of Vajapeya; this is a repetition of the bond of affection that exists between the mother and son. The same emotion is repeated in the rite of *Varuna-sava* and the above *mantra* is used here too. Varuna was coronated and sprinkled with water; at this time he lost his vigour, power, that he found in animals. Hence, at the time of *Varuna sava*, a hundred or more cows are made to stand at the north Ahavaniya fire. The Yajamana wearing a shoe of boar-skin and looking towards the earth says the *mantra*; *Prihivi matar ma himsih mosam tvam*. The reason for using the shoes of boar skins is that when the gods put the pot of ghee on fire a boar was produced from it; that is why a boar's body contains much fat; and the boars and cows are very harmonious. The same emotion is reflected in the procedure here. The mother in the

form of Earth will never harm her son.

Dyavaprthivi are mentioned together as follows: At the time of coronation the King, while ascending the throne, begs the consent of the mother Dyava and the father Dyaus in the *mantra*. The content of the *mantra* is that the King begs the permission of the Earth first on which his chariot is to move and whose suzerainty he is going to obtain. While offering the oblation to 'Abhimatiha' Indra, Dyavaprthivi are imagined as mothers; the prayer addressed to Dyava-prthivi imagined as mothers; in the *puronuvakya* is, 'May my statement uttered in reference to you both be true. May that statement addressed to you both protect you both and all the gods. May we obtain your favour and abundance of food and sinless donor'. The *Puronuvakya* which is said in the *pasuyaga* offered to Savita is similar. In it Dyaus is regarded as father, Prthivi as mother, Agni as brother; and all these gods, all the Adityas and Aditi are prayed to be beneficial in it.

While offering a *caru* to Brhaspati the invocation made to Prajapati mentions him in the form of Dyavaprthivi and Soma. So the prayer really amounts to saying that father-mother should come to us, and may we obtain immortality in the form of Soma-Prajapati.

There is a procedure to cut the *purodasa* to the deity Agni and place its two pieces in the *sadavatta* pot. The accompanying *mantra* contains an invocation to Dyavaprthivi. Here also Dyavaprthivi are imagined as father and mother.

The cart containing Soma is standing towards the north-west. At the time of the *Madhyandina savana* it is going to move towards the north by the way of *catvala* (a dig) and *utkara* (the heap of ashes). The *mantra* to be recited on this occasion (*Vajasya nu prasave mataram mahim* and *Aditim nama vacasa karamahai*) contains the identity of Prathivi and Aditi.

In the context of Yaga and the Five necessary for it the use of Rgvedic *mantras* is necessary, so, the Rgvedic idea that *vanaspati* or pure fuel in the form of Aranis are the mothers of Agni and Agni runs to them crying like children, towards the mother are repeated in the Brahmana texts. But the identity of Soma and Agni is also intended by the Brahmanas. The idea is that on *pratipada* the Moon comes to the Earth and enters water and plants; this gives him new birth. considering the companionship of Moon and plants, of plants (fuel, Aranis) and Agni, it becomes possible to assume the identity of Agni and Soma. And since plants are connected with water and earth, these companionships are ultimately tangible with Prthivi too.

But in the form of *vedi* and Prthivi, Prthivi, is the mother of Agni and Agni is foetus or child is a more distinct idea. Having made the *ukha* or *Agni-sthali* of earth, Aditi has formed it by her own hands, by her own reason (*dhiya*) and by her own power is the idea. Then, like a mother looking after her own child by taking it on her lap, Aditi should look after the Fire in the *sthali*, is the emotion naturally reflected in the content of the *mantra*. When the Agni is the *sthali* is taken on the *vedi* the ashes which remain in the *sthali* are taken in the bag made from the leaves; and it is abandoned in waters twice. When the ashes are moving on the waters, a little of it is taken by the *anamika* finger and applied to the *sthali*. The *mantra* which accompanies this, *apo devih pratigrabhnita bhasma*, there is a prayer that the heavenly waters should take the ashes to the soft and fragrant world. Here the idea is that waters are the views of Agni (*janayah*) and Agni is the husband of the waters. In regarding the waters as wife, the idea is that all the world is produced from waters. That the waters should give the ashes a place in the *surabhi* world is equivalent to the idea that mother fondles a child on her lap. While taking the ashes by the *anamika* finger from the waters, with the *mantra prasadya bhasmana yonim apas ca prthivim agne*, Agni is once again connected with Prthivi;

for, ashes are taken down in the *sthali*; *sthali* is made of earth; hence, the foetus in the form of Agni is imagined to be made in waters and in Prthvi. Agni has returned to the lap of the mother, he has returned again to the Yajamana, and so the obtainment of *urja* (food) and *rayi* (wealth) is also possible; these are the emotions in this rite and the utterances of the *mantras*.

While giving the oblations or offering wine to the *valmika*, the *mantra* that is said is, *Dve srti asrnavam pitrnam* — ‘I have heard that there are two movements of the fathers’. Here too the ideas are that Dyaus or akasak is the father and Prthivi is the mother.

In the sacraments to be performed on a dead body the verses from Rgveda are taken bodily. The idea, therefore, that Prthivi is the mother of the dead, his last refuge, is naturally repeated. The *Satapatha Brahmana* gives some details about this rite. The bones in the pots are to be released on the earth. In doing this the dead gets the shelter of the earth. This release of the bones is done in early morning, before the sun-rise; this ensures the contract of the dead with both day and night; and then the prayer ‘May the god Savita place these bones on the lap of mother Earth’ becomes consistent. A prayer is offered to the earth that she should be beneficial to the dead (*Asma iyam sam syat*). A *mantra* is said, ‘I am placing so-and-so in Prajapati, placing him in waters (or, in the earth near the waters)’. Water is near the region of earth; the place of the dead is now in Prajapati, in the world where water is near; this is the emotion of satisfaction, of blessing, in this. There is also the provision of various kinds of food. This form of mother Earth which is the last resort of men is very heart-rending, like the idea in the *RC sukta*. The *vidhi* in the *Brahmana* bestows on it a pet emotion.

The connection of the mother Earth is to be found in the animal sacrifice like the *Asvamedha* also. In a rite of the *Asvamedha* the Adhvaryu and the Yajamana whisper in the right ear of

the horse the mantra, *Vibhur maira prabhuh pitra* from the *Vajasaneyi samhita*. You are 'conductive to prosperity due to mother, you are strong due to father', is what the horse is told, here the mother is the Earth and father is the Dyaus-Akasa, that is intended. The idea in telling this and in uttering the various names of the horse (*atya, haya* etc.) is to please the horse before his sacrificial slaughter, to assign him a place in the Earth and the Heavens, and thereby to secure a name for the Yajamana in both the worlds. Yet it is worth remembering that there is also the emotion of pleasing the horse by reminding him of his parents.

In *Asvamedha* the horse is tied by a string and is taken to the water for bathing. In it the King's brothers — the sons of his fathers and mother's sisters — walk in front and behind the horse by holding his string. In doing this the King is supposed to be free of animal-slaughter. The relatives of the horse are also near him; so the intention is to secure their consent also to the slaughter of the horse. After the slaughter, the four wives of the Kings and four hundred maids come forward with water to wash the feet. At this time the Brahma priest utters an invokatory *mantra* with reference to the queen, in which her parents are supposed to be on the top of a tree. The hundred daughters of the queen say the same thing in replying to Brahma. The top of the tree is the pinnacle of kingly power and glory; this is the symbolical meaning present here. But there is probably the suggestion that the parents have secured this power and glory already.

The *barhis* are spread in the rite to consecrate the animal and slaughter him sacrificially. For, *vanaspati* is the food of animals. In spreading the *barhis* the Rtvij is as it were securing the soul for the animal; and then he recites the *mantras* securing the consent of the animal's mother, father, brother, sisters and relatives, friends in the herd. It is only after the consent of the parents is secured, after their consent is really secured, the animal is to be killed; this is the idea in

the rite and in the utterance of the *mantra*. Before the slaughter, water is sprinkled over the animal. This makes the animal *medhya* or fit for being offered as a sacrificial offering. *Osadhi-vanaspati* are produced from waters; having eaten them, having drunk up the water, *rates* or seed is produced in the body of the animal; this is how water is connected. But during the sprinkling and making the animal fit for sacrificial offering, the *mantra* regarding the consent of the parents of the animal is invariably said. During the sacrificial slaughter of the animal the gods and the parents are invoked and they are prayed to lead the animal to the heavens in gladness. The life is dependent on Indra; so, touching the animal Indra is invoked in a *mantra* to guard the inner and outer breath of the animal, place it in all the limbs, should make compact all the limbs of the body where he was cut, the god Tvastr should make the animal's body complete and whole; and thus an emotion is expressed that the cut-up body of the animal will be united in heavens, and the mother and father, relatives and friends of the animal will make the heavenly journey of the animal full of joy.

A barren cow, before she is slaughtered as a sacrificial offering, is required to be ascertained for a foetus in her belly....It is all right if it is not there; but if it were there, the Samitr is required to take it out. Then, drops of Soma juice are sprinkled on it and on the cow. The idea in this rite is that Soma is *visurupa*, having many forms and *bahudana*, capable of giving many gifts. The foetus is in the mother; sprinkling the drops of Soma on the cow and on the foetus, the Soma also acquires 'greatness' (*pratistha, mahima*); and in a way the mother and the foetus are able to meet and the cow acquires greatness. Leaving aside the sacrificial fruit of the rite, it is possible that the union of the mother and the foetus and the greatness of cow-the-mother are intended here.

Considering the animals in general, the forest in which the animals are raised, fed, the goddess Aranyani is the mother

of them; this is the idea in the *Aranyani-sukta* of the *Rgveda*. Six *rcs* of the *sukta* are taken up in the *Brahmanas* so that the ascetics living in the forests should use them for their own protection. The idea that *Aryanyani* is the 'mother of animals' is naturally repeated.

In the *Rajasuya* sacrifice, at the *madhyandina savana*, when the water of the consecration is to be poured in various pots, the *Rtvij* is to recite the *mantra*: *apam sisuh matrtamasu antah*. In this the idea is that holy waters are the mothers and the king performing the *Rajasuya* is the child.

Sometimes the idea of a 'mother' reveals itself in the performance of a *vidhi* with reference to a cow and a calf. While reciting the *mantrapatha* of the *Pravargya vidhi* the pot of milk is merely heated; then milk, butter etc. are poured into it. Now, at the place where the performance is to be done a cow is brought. She is to be milked. In this second part of the *Pravargya*, the *mantras*, '*Upa hvaye sudugham dhenum*', '*Sam i vatsam na matrbbih*' are to be recited. In this *mantra*, taken from *Rgveda*, the ideas that the cow is the mother and calf her child are clear and the emotion of the mother-child is distinctly hinted.

In the context of '*sakamedha*' offerings, the *ida* is cut into the pieces and they are to be eaten by *Rtvij*, *Yajamana*, the members of the *Yajamana* family who have a ritual right, and, if enough *ida* is available, the other Brahmins. The remaining *havis* food is kept in a safe place for the performance a *Darsapurnamasa* sacrifice. When this is done, the calves are brought near the cows and they take their milk of food. That night the *Agnihotra* offerings are made with the gruel of rice. On the second morning the cow is milked. A different calf is brought near her at this time. This milk is to be taken for *Pitr-yajna*. In this performance too the ideas that the mother and her calf meet, partake of food, and the milk of the cow is used as a *havis* repay the ancestral debt are present.

In the *Sattrothana*, while getting up from the performance, some offerings are to be made; with the second *ahuti-mantra*, '*Upasrjan dharunam matre*', the drinking calf is brought near its mother. This is done because the drinking calf is supposed to be the Agni and the sustaining mother-cow is the Prthivi. The desired fruit is abundance of cattle.

In the Sautramani sacrifice the oblations of *sura* are prescribed. This is the form of the *havis-yajna*, a form of Soma yaga. The form of the *pasuyaga* is the oblation offered to such deities as Indra, Rudra. Indra, Rudra are the protectors of animals (*Sutraman*). In offering oblations to them, the protection of animal-wealth and the repayment of *Pitr-rna* are both the objectives. 'When I was a child I drank milk from the udders with joy; so, O God Agni, I am relieved of the debt to my parents; I did not injure my parents. *Yad apipesa mataram putrah pramudito dhayam*'). This mantra which is recited in the context of *pasuprayoga* contains this emotion.

In the performance of Sautramani *caru* or cooked rics with water is to be offered. In this Aditi stands for Prthivi. By offering *caru*, it is as good as making a sacrifice on the Earth, and the Yajamana is firmly established on the earth. The fee for the Rtvij in this performance is a milch-cow with her calf. The milch-cow is the Earth; Earth is also a cow; the cow and Prthivi both nourish a man like a cow. Just as a cow gives milk, similarly this *vidhi* fulfils all the desires of the Yajamana: these ideas are present here. At the beginning of Sautramani sacrifice a calf is gifted and at its end a cow. When the calf is at the udders of the cow, she releases milk. At the conclusion of the rite the cow is gifted; so, her giving milk is suggestive of the fulfilment of Yajamana's desires. In the Rajasuya sacrifice the fee prescribed is the same as the cow. Here too the idea of nourishment is revealed (*mateva iyam manusyam bibharti*).

In special rite of the Darsa sacrifice the Adhvaryu and the

Rtvij touch the cow with the twig of *palasa* and remove each of the calves from her; then they bring them near her. In the *mantra* recited on this occasion, '*Devo vah Savita prarpayatu*' there is a prayer that Savita who gives the impetus should fill life in the cow and the calf. Even granting the fruit of fulfilment of sacrifice, the idea that the cow-calf, the mother-child, is surely revealed in the performance.

There is a portion of story that tells us that Angriases performed a *satra* and produced *osadhis*. Pitrs wanted a share in this; they suggested that a portion from the Agnihotra may be given as their share. They put poison in the *osadhis*. The Angirases milked the cow and requested the calf to give the *havya* for the Pravargya performance. Accordingly, it was decided that the cow should not be milked for ten days after the birth of the calf, the calf should remain with the mother till the *sangava*; and the calf should be removed from the mother after the *sangava*. The familiar things with reference to the cow and the calf are given here an allegorical form. From them the performance details, Pravargya and the share of the Pitrs, are accomplished and the procedure of the performance is also clarified. In this too the ideas that the cow and the calf are related as mother and son and the mother must provide for the nourishment of her child can be seen.

With the same symbol with string with which the cow and the calf are to be tied is called 'the mother of the cow.' When the cow is tied up with a string she is protected. At the time of milking it is the custom to tie up the calf to the leg of the cow. Both these ideas easily suggest that mother and her child should be near each other, that they should be protected, and that both should be nourished and protected. The cow is a mother is very distinctly stated in one place. The cow is the mother of the eleven Rudras, the daughter of the eight Vasus, a sister of the Adityas, and a *nabhi* (place of origin) of nectar in the form of milk. Hence, it becomes a sacrificial duty to protect the cow and see that it is never killed. It is perfectly

natural to call the cows *ajyasya matarah*'.

There is an interesting story of gods and demons regarding the 'Raivata *sastra*'. The gods and the demons vied with each other about the cattle. The gods stopped in the North with calves, the asuras in the South with the cows. The cows had run without their calves. The gods had firmly held the calves. The cows then ran to the North. Remembering this incident, it is said that when the calves are in the North and the cows in the South, they should simultaneously produce a neighing sound and the singing of the *Sastro* should be similar. The object of this story and the procedure is not clear. But it appears that the mutual attraction of the mother and her calves is assumed here. However, another reference indicates that '*pasu-ghosa*' is intended in the recitation of Raivata-*sastra*..

In the symbol of cow-calf there is sometimes an addition of the symbol of 'vac'. In the context of 'Hiranvati' oblations there is a call that *Vag-devata* should go to Soma. The mother, father, relatives and friends of Vac should permit her to go to Soma; such is the prayer. This presupposes the equation of Soma, go (cow) and Vac.

In the Agnihotra, the cow for Agnihotra is Vac, mind is the *vatsa*.; these equations are held. Though the mind and *vac* are different, they are one. As a symbol of this, the cow and the calf are tied together with one string. Here there are additional equations: '*tejas*' (the heat generated by the friction of the string) is *sraddha*, and *ajya* is *satya*. The oneness of mother and son, in spite of their separateness, has proved here as a symbol for the non-difference of mind and *vac*.

'*Akkuti*' is the goddess of mind's resolution. It is therefore natural to call *akuti* the mother of sacrifice and invite her. But the resolution of mind will ultimately be expressed by *vac*. It is possible, therefore, to interpret *akuti* as *vagrupa devata*, and *akuti* or *vac* (in the form of *mantra*) can be called 'the mother of sacrifice'.

The idea of *Aditi* mentioned above has been joined by the Brahmana authors with *samhita*. *Samihita* means joining: Two things (for example, two syllables, two words) joined together result in the third thing, *samhita*. *Samhita* is expressed in terms of biological terms: *Jaya* is the former form, as it is down at the time of copulation; *Pati* is the latter form; the son is *sandhi* (the joining of the two), the mother and the father are mixed in him. And the birth, creation is the *sandhana*. This is the reason of the *samhita*. Applying this idea of *vac*, *vac* and *prana* (in the form of breathing) are termed mother and child by one Sakalya. Pancalacanda, on the other hand, regards *vac* as *samhita* and explains that it is due to *vac* that the Vedas are joined together to form a *samhita*. In this context, *vac* is the mother and *prana* is the *vatsa*. The articulation of Veda is done by *vac*. While doing it, breathing has to be done by control. Hence, this symbol of *janya-janani*. The reciters of Veda will recite Veda-*rcs* with love. So, just as the cow will lick its calf and the calf the cow with love, in the same way, the enunciation of words and *prana* fondle each other. This beautiful idea emerges. Similarly, stating the opinion of someone, (*'kautomantam'*) it is said that '*nakuli*' that is, tongue, is the mother and '*vacana*' (statement) is the child.

The *samhita* is in the form of *vac*. It is due to *vac* that the Vedas are formed into *samhita*, the metres come together and join. All this is *vac*. *Vac* is the first originator of *rta* or sacrifice. Hence, it is possible to describe *vac* as *vedanam mata amrtasya nabhih*. And while distinguishing the various *samans*, the language of equation, namely, *rc* as the mother, *saman* as the father and Prajapati as the *svara* can be used.

Muradevas and Sisnadevas

Two important references to be examined in connection with the question of the Vedic tribes are about the Muda-devas and the Sisna-devas. About Muradevas there is not much

difficulty; for they are not connected with any non-Vedic civilisation. They are referred to only thrice; and in all cases they are associated with the magic-mongers (*yatudhanas*): “Kill, O Agni with your heat the *yatudhanas*....; by your flame set at naught the Muradevas” (RV. X.87.14); earlier, “Being of metal-jaws, O Agni! touch the *yatudhanas* with your flame...; with your tongue hold the Muradevas” (*Ibid*, v.2). The only other context is, “Indra, kill the male *yatudhana*, and also the female...; may the Mura-devas get to naught with their necks cut” (or, may the neck-less...etc.; RV VII.104.24; the word *vigrivasah* does not occur anywhere else). This will show that they were not positively non-Aryan; might be, they were Aryans themselves practicing witchcraft, by propitiating material objects. Probably, here we have the suggestion of the religion of witch-craft, or what is called *bhesaja* in the technical sense of the *Atharvaveda*; for the *mantras* of that Veda are known as *bhesajah*.

Of similar state are the *Sisna-devah*, who are never described as clashing with the aryaans, the difference being only ritualistic. Had there been any tribal difference, their ruin or defeat might have been referred to. Nowhere it is done! Surprisingly, like the Muradevas, they come only in the book of the Vasisthas and the later book X; and out of the two places of their occurrence, in one they are clearly associated with black magic, which will, thus, place them in the clearly associated with black magic, which will, thus, place them in the same category as of the Muradevas: “May not the magic-crafts (*yatavah*) torture us, O Indra, nor the evil powers;...may not the Sisna-devas come to (or cling to) our rite” (RV. VII.21.5); and further, “He (Indra) surpassed (or defeated) the Sisna-devas with his *varpas*” (RV. X.99.3) *sisnadevan adhi varpasa bhut*). The most important point is that Indra does not use his mighty weapon, the bolt, to kill the Sisna-devas. He defeats them ($\sqrt{abhi} + bhu$; it does not necessarily mean “kill”) with his *varpas*, which has the connotation of “form” or “inner strength” (cf. I.39.1 “by whose wisdom (*kratva*),

by whose *varpas*?" "When the fire-god defeated the Dark moving one (Night) by his *varpas*" and at other places).

The absence of a tumultuous fight in such cases indicates, in all probability, an internal strife of ritual-behaviour rather than an inter-tribal conflict; and a clear reference to the *yatu* in one of the two occurrences of this word supports what we have said. At any rate there is no probability at all of the case being of phallus worship, even granting that it was very wide. For Vedic cases of Phallus-worship we have to hunt other places. And, on the basis of these two references, to surmise that the Sisna-devas were the people of the Indus Valley whom the Aryans destroyed, is not only disastrous, but also unwise. There is another point. The word *sisna* does not conclusively mean the "phallus" in the *Rgveda* (cf. I.105.8^b = X.33.3^a "As do the rats eat the *sisnas*", where Yaska, *Nirukta* IV.6, renders it as *asnatani sutrani*, "coated cords"); probably it indicates "trifles", or "unclean things"; and it would, in the compound *sisnadeva*, indicate the same thing as the *Muradeva*, and not phallus-worship. The words do not occur in the later texts; and Yaska renders *sisna-devah* as *abrahmacaryah* (*Nirukta* IV.19), which, in the right sense, would mean, "non-practicers of *brahman*"; and *brahman* was the ritual (*Nirukta* I.8, and XII.34; at the latter place *brahmani karmani*).

Music and Dancing

Dancing is indicated by the references to the *nrtu* (RV X.29.2; VIII.68.7 etc.). A variety of musical instruments is mentioned, "Where there are the swings, golden and white, where the *aghati*, *karkari* (both instruments like the drum), there are the Apsarses aroused" (AV IV.37.4).

Other instruments mentioned are: *kndavina*, *tatava*, *tunava*, *dundubhi*, *nadi* (flute), *vana vanici*, *adambara*. The following passage may give some idea: "For tumult the sounder of the *tunava*; for gain the sounder of the conch; for

brilliance the luteplayer; the clapper, and the small drum beater for dance; for joy and player on the *talava*" (*Vaj. Sam.* XXX.19; 20; in the context of the symbolic sacrifice). The *vana* is mentioned in the *Rgveda* and later (RV I.85.10 *dhamanto vanam marutah sudanavah*; etc.; and it was endowed with a hundred strings, *Taitt. Sam* VII. 5.9.2 *vanah satatantur bhavati*). These and other musical instruments are mentioned at the *Vaj. Sam.*, noted above.

Hunting, chariot-racing and even horse-riding was a favourite pastime. Hunting: "May not others bind you O Indra! as do the hunters with the net" (RV III.45.1.). The snarer was called the *nidhapati*. In horse-racing or chariot-racing the end was called the *kastha*: "At the end of the broad *kastha* is the prize kept; may the destination be attained" (RV VIII.80.8). The tight grasp of the rider's thighs about the horse-back is seen: "The thighs of the valiant (Maruts) are set apart on the back of the horses" (RV V.61.3). Another game was shooting or archery (RV. VI. 75.5 "(The arrow) hisses in the *samana*"), and playing dice (X. 34), for which special provision was made (v. 6).

Naksatras

Dr. Macdonell, in his *Vedic Mythology*, has remarked that in the *Rgveda* not more than two or three Naksatras (lunar mansions) are found mentioned although the word *nuksatra* is found used several times in the sense of stars. The words *agha* and *arjuni* are used in the sense of lunar mansions, later on known as *magha* and *phalguni*, in the Marriage Hymn (*RV.X.85*) where it is stated that in the *agha* days heifers and bullocks are slaughtered for guests, while marriages are celebrated in *phalguni* days.

The word *Tisya* occurs in *RV. V. 54.13*:

युष्मादत्तस्य मरुतो विचेतसो रायः स्याम रथ्यो ३ वयस्वतः ।
न यो युच्छतिष्यो ३ थया दिवो ३ ऽस्मे रारन्त मरुतः सहस्त्रिणम् ॥

A doubt is expressed by Dr. Macdonell and other scholars here whether the word *Tisya* refers to the *Naksatra* (lunar mansion) *Tisya* or not. Sayanacarya has taken the word in the sense of Aditya, the Sun, and translated the stanza as follows: "Oh very intelligent Maruts, we, warriors, would like to be masters of wealth, rich in food' bestowed upon us by you, wealth which will not leave our place like the Sun, who does not leave his station in the heavens.. Oh Maruts, give us

wealth, countable in thousands.” The word *Tisya* need not mean the Sun here. It could be taken in the sense of the Nakshatra *Tisya*, known later on as *Pusya* whose presiding deity is given as *Brhaspati*. The third line could mean: ‘wealth, which will not slip away from us like the Nakshatra *Tisya* which has not left its place although its lord *Brhaspati* moved back to *Punarvasu* the place of *Aditi*.’ The line could also mean: ‘wealth which will not leave us unlike *Brhaspati* who left his place in *Tisya*’. This backward movement of *Brhaspati* from *Pusya* to *Punarvasu* is nothing else than a metaphorical description of the precession of the point of vernal equinox from the nakshatra *Pusya* to the nakshatra *Punarvasu* which took place some centuries before the time of the *Rgveda*. This precession of the vernal equinox is also referred to metaphorically as the transformation of God *Brahaspati* into a goddess in the stanzas:

अध पश्यस्व मोपरी पादकौ हर ।

मा ते कशप्लकौ दृशन्स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविध ॥ (RV. VIII.33.19) .

which means:

“Look down, not up, hold close thy legs;
Let not people see thy lashable hips;
Brhaman, thou hast become a woman.”

It should be noted that the obscure words *kasa* and *plaka* are similar in sound to the principal stars of the constellation *Punarvasu* which are named *Castor* (RA. 114) and *Pollux* (RA. 116). The line *sa Matur yona parivito antah* (RV. I.164.32) refers to this very event.

Although the precession of the equinoctial points was not known as such in theory in the days of the *Rgveda*, still its effects were noticed and the found recorded in the lines quoted above. Astronomer *Munjala* has clearly referred to this phenomenon in the 10th century A.D. The line *trimsat krtvo* (v. 1. *krtva*) *yuge bhanam cakram prak parilambato* in the *Surya Siddhanta* states that in a Yuga of 4,32,000 years the

naksatra circle swings like the pendulum of a clock from one side to another fully thirty times. As one swings is equivalent to a semi-circle in the Heavenly vault, fifteen complete revolutions of 360 each, are complete in 4,32,000 years; i.e. each revolution takes 28,800 years as against 25,750 years according to the exact calculation of the present time.

The Stanza:

वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः। वेदा य उपजायते ॥ (Rgveda. I. 25.8)

refers to the 12 months along with the intercalary month. The knowledge of the intercalary month presupposes the knowledge of the difference between the lunar and the solar years made up of about 354 and 366 days respectively. The knowledge of the solar year means, in the least, the knowledge of the dates of the two equinoxes and the two solstices as also those of the different seasons of the year, based upon the Sun's position among the nakatras which was determined with ease by the position of the full moon.

As the association of the Sun with Rohinin and that with Mrga marked respectively the beginning of the Vasanta-Rtu and the Vasanta-Sampata in the days of the *Rgveda*, the Rohini-Mrga-vibhaga can be taken as the first division and the 12 divisions can be given below with the degrees of the present right ascension.

नक्षत्रविभाग	यागतारा
1 रोहिणीमृगविभाग 68°-97° (ज्येष्ठमास)	1 रोहिणी Aldeberon 68° (वसन्तारम्भ)
2 तिष्यपुनर्वसविभाग 98°-130° (आषाढमास)	2 मृगशिरम् λ orionis 83° 1 पुनर्वसु (1) Castor 114° पुनर्वसु (2) Pollux 116°
3 अर्धाविभाग 131°-157° (श्रावणमास)	2 तिष्य (पुष्य) 1 Cuncri 130° 1 मघा Regulus 152°

4	फल्गुनीविभाग 158°-186° (भाद्रपदमास)	1	पूर्वाफल्गुनी a Leonis 158°
		2	उत्तराफल्गुनी b Leonis 177° (दक्षिणायनारम्भ 173°)
5	हस्तचित्रविभाग 187°-216° (अश्विनमास)	1	हस्त Coris 187° (शरदारम्भ)
		2	चित्रा Spica 201°
6	विशाखाविभाग 217°-247° (कार्तिकमास)	1	(a) Libra विशाखा (1) 158°
		2	(b) Libra विशाखा (2) 228°
7	ज्येष्ठामूलविभाग 247°-277° (मार्गशीर्षमास)	1	ज्येष्ठा Scorpi 247°
		2	मूल (विचूत) λ Scrpri 263° (शरत्संपात) 263°
8	श्रवणविभाग 277°-307° (पौषमास)	1	अषाढा Sagitares 284°
		2	अभिजित् Vega 279°
		3	श्रवण Aquilie 289°
9	श्रविष्ठाविभाग 307°-377° (माघमास)	1	श्रविष्ठा β Delphini 309° (हेमन्तरम्भ 309°)
10	प्रोष्ठपदाविभाग 367°-7° (फाल्गुनमास)	1	पूर्वप्रोष्ठपदा Pegasi 347° ऊत्तराप्रो Pegasi 5° (ऊत्तरायणारम्भ 353°)
11	आश्वयुजाविभाग 7°-37° (चैत्रमास)	1	Piscium 18°
		2	β Arietis 28°
12	कृत्तिकविभाग 37°-67° (वैशाखमास)	1	कृत्तिका Aloyone 56°

References to Naksataras Prosthapada, Mrga and Mula, the entry of the Sun into which marked the Winter Solstrice, the Spring Equinox and Autumnal Equinox respectively, are rather indirect. The stanza 'Suryaya vahatuh' (X.85.13) in the marriage hymn mentions the Naksatras Agha i.e. Magha and Arjuni i.e. Phalguni as signifying respectively the last month of the *Daksinayana* and the first month of the *Uttarayana* by their association with the full moon. As the association of the Full Moon with a Naksatra is concurrent with the entry of the sun into the opposite Naksatra, the knowledge of Magha and Phalguni as marking the end of *Daksinayana* and the

beginning of the *Uttarayana*, leads to the knowledge of the entry of the Sun into Sravistha and Prosthapada, doing the same. The Nakshatra Sravistha, (RA. 309° and decl + 15°) was looked upon by its declination of 15° to the north, as a signal of the approaching *Uttarayana* when people resumed their normal activities which had to be suspended in the region of the deity of terror (Nirrti) for a month and half. Sravistha was hence taken as the first of the twelve Nakshatra (cf. *Sravisthadini rksani rtavah sisiradayah—Mahabharata* 14.44.2) after the period of the *Rgveda* when all the 27 Naksatras along with Abhijit, the 28th, were known and mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.

A sort of indirect evidence is provided by the four stanzas with Nirrti as the Deity for saying that the Vedic seers knew the Nakshatra Mula. They are the first four stanzas of Sukta 59 in the tenth Mandala. They have *parataram su nirrtirjihitam* as their refrain. Nirrti is described as the deity of evil rather suitably as distress and diseases consequent upon the stopping of the rains, caught hold of Northern India in those days when the Sun crossed the Nakshatra Mula of which Nirrti was the presiding deity. The fourth verse *mosunah soma mrtyave paradah* requests Soma, the presiding deity of Mrga marking the beginning of Spring in those days, to see that the seer praising him are not handed over to Death, not only that, but they are enabled to see the rising Sun of the Spring and live a healthy life in their old age.

The enigmatic stanza:

य ई चकार न सो अस्य वेद य ई ददर्श हिरुगिन्नु तस्मात् ।
स मातुर्योना परिवीतो अन्तर्बहुप्रजा निऋतिमा विवेश ॥ (RV I. 164.32)

supplies a sort of evidence for the knowledge of the Naksatras Mrga and Mula. The stanza means 'One who created this (world) viz. the Sun, does not know it now any longer; one viz. Brhaspati, who saw it, is now away from it; the seer of this world i.e. Brhaspati is fast asleep in the womb of his

mother; while the creator of the world i.e. the Sun with all his progeny has entered the constellation 'Nirrti' the region of distress and disease. The second and third feet of this stanza have a sly reference to the procession of the vernal equinoctial point from Pusya to Purnarvasu for which see above.

The Stanza:

स बुध्नादाष्ट जनुषऽभ्यग्रं बृहस्पतिदेवता यस्य सम्राट् ।

बुध्नाद्यो अग्रमभ्यर्त्योजसा बृहस्पतिमा विवासन्तु देवाः ॥ (TS 2.3. 14. 6c)

refers, of course indirectly, to the Naksatra Prosthapada. It is stated above that the word Arjuni in the statement *arjunyoh paryuhyate* (RV V.85.13) stands for the Naksatra Phalguni, the presence of the Full Moon in which marks the month Phalguna, in which the Uttarayana commenced on the day on which the Sun entered the centre of this constellation Prosthapada (Pegesus 377°—7°). The presiding deity of this Prosthapada, later on known as Uttarabhadrapada is Abhirbudhnya (*budhniyo 'hih* in RV) signifying the Sun's journey on the north of the Celestial Equator like a serpent. This zig-zag path of the Ecliptic from Uttaraprosthapada (RA. 2) to Uttaraphalguni (RA 187°) is described in the verse '*sa budhnat*' given above as the journey of the Lord of the Heavenly Vault (Brhaspati) from the bottom (*buddha* RA 2) to the top (*agra* RA. 187°). The stanza *ya im jagama* refers to the further journey from Hasta (RA. 187°) to Mula (*nirrtimavivesa*) which was not so very troublesome in those days; but the journey further from Mla (RA. 267°) to Srivistha (RV. 309°), when people were then caught into the grip of distress, was extremely bad. The entry of the Sun into the constellation Sravistha (RV. 309°) marking the close of the reign of Nirrti, the deity of Terror; enabled people in those days to undertake journeys for preparations for marriages which actually took place after the entry of the Sun into Prosthapada marking the beginning of the Uttarayana. The entry into Mula (λ Scorpii RA. 263°, Decl-37°) marked the time of the

Autumnal Equinox, and the entry into the centre of the Prosthapada quadrilateral (Pegasus, RA. 353°, Decli, 21°) marked the Winter Solstice or Uttarayana.

There are mentioned in the well known stanza:

शतं जीव शरदो वर्धमानः शतं हेमन्ताञ्छतमु वसन्तान् ।
शतभिन्द्राग्नी सविता बृहस्पतिः शतायुषा हविषेमं पुनर्दुः ॥ (RV X.161.4)

only three seasons Sarad (the Rainy Seson), Hemanta (the Winter) and Vasanta (the Summer), commencing with the entry of the Sun respectively into Hasta (δ Coris, RA. 187°, Decli 16°), Sravistha (α Delphini, RA. 309°, Decli 15°) and Rohini (Alderbaran R.A. 68°, Decli. 16°). The mention of the constellation Hasta is made by its presiding deity Savita, the Sun, while the other two presiding deities Indrarni and Brhaspati show the lunar months Vaisakha for Vasanta and Pausa for Hemanta by means of the Naksatras Visakha and Pusya over which they preside.

In the light of the statements made above, it seems that the seasons, the equinoxes and the solstices have all retarded 86 days backwards since the time of the *Rgveda* upto the present time as a result of the precession of the equinoxes at the rate of one degree in about 70 years. The Rainy Season which commenced on or about the 2nd September (the date of the entry of the sun into Hasta) now commences at the end of June in North India. Similarly, the Winter Solstice and the Vernal Equinox, which now take place on or about 23rd of December and 23rd of March, took place in the days of *Rgveda* on or about the 15th of March and June respectively. The difference of more than 86 days clearly indicates that the time of the *Rgveda* was about 6000 years before the present time (86×70).

A look the present figures of declination of the important Naksatra will show that Krttika, Rohini and Punarvasu have + 24 + 16 and + 30 as their declinations. In contrast to these,

the opposite Nakshatras Visajga, Jyesthamula and Asadha have respectively -16 , -37 and -30° as their declinations. Authoritative Astronomers, who fixed the fitting stars for the Nakshatras on the path of the Ecliptic circle, must have chosen much stars as were as close as possible to the Equatorial circle in their days. Although the angle of 23.5° between the two circles remains unchanged, still as an effect of the precession of the Equinoctial points, the declinations change. For example, stars near the equinoxes get their declinations gradually increased plus or minus to the extent of 23 to 20 degrees during a period of more than 6000 years taken by their recession when they have become in fact, the solstices. Viewed in this light it seems quite probable that the prominent stars Punarvasu (Castor and Pollux RA. 113°) were known before the time of the *Rgveda* when they were near the Vernal Equinoxes of Asadha (-30) and Mula (-37) were also below minus ten in those days as they were near the Autumnal Equinox. It is also possible to say that the stars Citra (Spica), (Vega) and Raivati (Piscium) were also known at the times as marking the Summer Solstice, Autumnal Equinox and the Winter Solstice respectively. If, as stated above, the Nakshatra Tisya-Punarvasu and a few more, were known to forefathers of Vedic seers, it becomes natural for them not only to refer to the precession of the Vernal Equinox from Tisya to Punarvasu, but to make a further reference to the precession from Punarvasu to Mrga which took place in their days and which they seem to have referred to in the Nirrti verses (RV. X.59.1—4).

Nirrti

Nirrti has been very cursorily mentioned by Dr. Dandekar in his studies. He has suggested that "Rudra is the presiding deity of *ardra*, which is the rain-bringing constellation. TBIII. 1.4.30 describes the offering to *ardra*, the constellation of the moist, fresh, tender maid, whose ruling deity is Rudra.

Opposed to Rudra is the constellation *mulabharani* ruled over by the destroying goddess, *Nirrti*.” He has incidently pointed out that *Nirrti* was a minor divinity. Further he has called it chaos, opposed to *rtu*, regularly occurring season. The late Velankar, in his introduction to the *RV* Seventh Mandala, discusses *Nirrti* at length. It is called *devi* though of destruction. Its home is said to be a beamless structure, *avamsa*. It is associated with *Nirrti*. Decrepitude, *jara* has association with it. A pigeon is mentioned as its messenger.

The term *Nirrti* occurs 26 times in the *Rgveda* (a whole *pada* with the term being repeated in 4 verses in 10.59). Its form is once *Nirrtam* (1. 119. 7) and also *Nirrtham* (7.104.14). Sayana gives, as noted by critical students, several inconsistent explanations of this term in interpreting the same passage or in commenting on the same word in different passages. He considers *Nirrti* to be *papadevata* 8 times (1. 24.9: 6. 74.2; 7. 104.9; 10.59.1 76. 4, 161, 2 m 164. 1m 165.1); *prtyhivi* ‘earth’ 5 times (1. 117.5; 7.37.7, 59. 1; 10, 95. 14, 114.2); goddess of death 3 times (10.18.10, 36.2, 4); *duhkha* ‘unhappiness’ 3 times and hurt, injury twice (1.38.6 and 8. 24. 24, *raksah*). Sayana renders *Nirrtam* (1. 119.7) as “fully obtained” and *Nirrtham* as complete pain, injury).

Dandekar equates *Nirrti* with absence of *rta* ‘cosmic order’. He has derived *rta* from the IE root *ar-* ‘to bind’ with equivalents from other European Languages. Velankar and Sayana have not attempted any etymology.

In the study and interpretation of the *Rgveda* in the last two centuries, it has now been firmly established that “there is but one and the same word in different passages and that it has only one and not multiple meanings.” Paul Thieme’s dictum is “it is vain to entertain any hope of stepping out of the circle of altogether subjective guesswork as long as we do not try to restore the initial meaning everywhere. The presumable ‘notion initiale’, the central idea has to be put to the test as to whether it is recognisable in all the passages of the *RV*, where

the word naming this notion occurs, and whether consequently, one single expression can be used when translating this one single word in all different contexts." This problem has been, with its historical background, admirably summarised by Mehendale.

In the light of this very wholesome rule arrived at, an attempt has to be made to trace the one meaning of the term *rtam* in the *Rgveda*. Assertion of Luders that in the *Rgveda* *rta* has only meaning 'truth', is far from the realities of the situation. Dandekar's *rtam* connoting cosmic order is also a late development and covers a partial, limited field in the *Rgveda*. An attempt has been made to show that the term *rta* comes from the *r* 'to flow' *Rta* means 'snow, water, available at the *div, sanu* of the mountains, having greater altitudes than 15000 ft. Which is the perennial snow-line in the Hindukush area. The root *r* *iyarti* 'flow' occurs in the *Rgveda*. Many derivatives in the *RV* and later literature have survived. It may be added here that the words *arna*, *retas*, *Reva* 'river-name', *arka* 'membrum virile' and 'the plant *calatroopis Gigantea*'; *arka* N of rivers Yamuna and Tapti; *irammada* 'gladdening water'; *Urana* i) a ram, sheep (being dwashed for wool, ii) 'N of coastal town in Maharashtra'; *Uras* 'breast' (because of its flowing), *aritr* 'a rower' *RV* 2. 42. 1; 9. 95.2; *aritra* 'rowing' *RV*, *aritra* 'an oar' all belong to the root *r* 'flow'.

Nirrti is the negation of *rti* which connotes 'snow, water'. Hence, it would be 'waterlessness'. Water is in fact the essence of all life. This is noted specifically by the *Rgvedic* composers. An example may suffice. In the rain hymn *RV* 7.101. 6, after stating that the whole plant life depends on the availability of rain, water, it is recorded that rain, *parijanya* is the essence, *atma* of the moving and stationary life, that is animals and plants.

The initial notion of waterlessness in the compound *Nirrti* can be appreciated after looking carefully into the context of the texts. The local senses can be broadly put into two

categories, (i) waterless situation and (ii) absolute lack of rain in a place, land converting the places into a dreary, dreadful location. All life, men and animals are terrified at the very idea. Hence *Nirrti* has become a matter of abuse, condemnation, a thing associated with death. Out of the 23 occasions of the use of the term, in 12 contexts, the notion of absence of water, some sort of liquid, can reasonably be traced and visualised. In the rest 11 contexts, the personified sense of death goddess or an object of condemnation is intended.

- (1) The verse 11 of the well-known Yama-Yami dialogue (*RV* 10.10) Provides a good example of 'Lack of flow' *nirrti*, *kim bhrata asat yat anatham bhavati*, *kim u suasa yat nirrtir nigacchat*. What is the use of a brother when the sister remains masterless, without a protector (and) what (is the use of a brother) when (the sister) goes without a flow (of semen from the brother). This is doubly clear from the request to sprinkle, *prs*.

Nisadas

Among the non-Aryan tribes the most noted is that of the Nisadas, which is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* or the *Atharvaveda*, but comes often later and further in the Epics and the Puranic literature. The Vajasaneyi Samhita has a sort of a respectable reference to them, "Bow to the Punjisthas (fishermen), bow to the Nisadas" (Taitt. Sam. IV.5.4.2, Vaj. Sam. XVI.17). The *Suparanadhyaya*, a late Vedic text, mentions the Nisadarastra (VIII.16, J. Charpentier *Die Suparna-sage*, Uppsala, 1920), with many divisions (*Nisadarastram bahv'ekabhedam*); and the *Mahabharata* mentions the Nisadas as on the verge of the sea (Adi 28.1 *samudrakuksavekante Nisadalayam uttamam*), and in the vicinity of the Sarasvati, where the river vanishes into the desert (Vana, 130.3, "Due to whose sins the Sarasvati entered the earth thinking "may not the Nisadas see me"). There inclusions in the Aryan fold is clear very early; as it is

prescribed that the Raudra *isti* (ritual to propitiate Rudra) was allowed to be done in the case of the Nisada (*Purvamimamsa-sutra* VI.1.25 *sthapatir nisadhah sabda-samarthyat*; and *etaya (Rudrestya) Nisada-sthapatim yajayet*).

Their inclusion in the Aryan fold as early as the 8th century B.C. is clear from the remark of Aupamanyava, *catvaro varna, nisadah pancamah*, quoted by Yaska (*Nirukta*, III.7). The term is applied to all non-Aryans, and their special reference is in connection with fishing, as is indicated by the reference from the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.* above Aryanas not only settled among the Nisadas, but even married their women (*Suparnadhyaya* X.18.5 *dvijas tu sanisadikah sa-sutrah*). The ritual at the *Visvajit* sacrifice required a temporary stay among the Nisadas. The *Suparnadhyaya* and the *Mahabharata* record the defeat and assimilation of the Nisadas by the Aryans in a symbolic legend, in which Garuda is presented as eating the Nisadas.

Non-Attractive Daksinas

There is a tendency to see a kind of priestly greed (Priesterliche Habsucht) in that is connected with *daksinas* in Vedic sacrifices. Offenciation in sacrifices is intended to provide the priests with their means of livelihood. However, Vedic and later literature contain references to the effect that there were also greedy priests. Thus, the expiatory sacrifice called Punastoma has been prescribed for a priest who has accepted too much or unworthy things and, thereby, supposed to have swallowed poison as it were. Priestly greed has been classified metaphorically, into three types, viz., eaten (*jagdha*), 'swallowed' (*girna*) and 'vomited' (*vanta*). What is 'eaten' is when the sacrificer appoints a priest who comes forward with the expectation, 'May he give me; may he choose me.' What is 'swallowed' is when the sacrificer chooses a priest with the feeling, 'May he not oppress me nor create confusion in my sacrifice?' What is 'vomited' is when he chooses as his

priests one who is the spooked of. Just as men are disgusted with what is vomited, so also are the gods disgusted with ill-spoken priests. A sacrificer is required to avoid the said three wrong choice.

The rule that one should not accept priesthood in a Soma sacrifice unless a hundred *daksinas* (=cows) are offered is apt to make one think of the enormity of *daksinas*. Again, there are grand descriptions, in later literature about *daksinas* consisting of cows, elephants, women etc. It is said in the *mahabharata*, that king Sasabindu had a thousand of thousand sons. When he performed in Asvamedha, behind each of his sons stood one hundred maidens; behind each maiden one hundred elephants; behind each elephant one hundred chariots; behind each chariot one hundred horses; behind each horse one hundred cows; and behind each cow one hundred sheep and goats—and all this was given to the priests. In the sacrifice performed by the king of the Anga country Indra became intoxicated with *soma* and the priests with *daksinas*. In the kingdom of Dilipra there were always three kinds of noises: that of students studying; that of the strings of bows; and that of the call 'to give'. These descriptions obviously create an inflated impression about *daksinas*. It would be worth while to consider the position of *daksinas* as actually prescribed in texts of Vedic ritual.

'No offering should be without *daksinas*', is the general rule, for it is said, the sacrifice smears guilt on the deities called Aptyas and they smear the guilt upon him who makes an offering without *daksina*. An offering without *daksina* is compared to a carriage without bullocks, for both get harmed. The importance of *daksina* is derived from the conception that it 'completes' the sacrifice, as it were, as is indicated by the etymology of the word given in the Brahmanas and in the *Nirukta*. Thus, we read in the *Satapatha Brahmana* that in the killing the victim and preparation of the sacrificial cake the sacrifice itself is killed and loses its vigour. The *daksina*

invigorates it (*daksayati*) and it is then that the sacrifice becomes successful, strong and complete (*samrddha*). The *Nirukta* derives the word from the same root *Idaks I* and adds that the *daksina* completes whatever is incomplete. The *daksinas* are like the 'offerings' (*ahutis*) made to the gods in human form, viz., the priests.

Some modern scholars have tried to show the real nature and significance of *daksina*. Thus, C.V. Vaidya expresses his disagreement with scholars seeing greed in the *daksina*—rules by pointing out the difference between the Vedic priests and priests in other religions is ancient as well as in modern times. Gonda points out the real significance of the *daksina* when he says : "It is, in a mystical way placed on the credit side of the donor's account." He also emphasises the etymology given by the Brahmana texts and *Nirukta* according to which *daksinas* are for 'completion', and form 'offerings (*ahutis*) to priests (=human gods). Heesterman, while discussing *daksinas* in connection with the rajasuya, corrects Weber when he draws attention to the fact that the quantity and quality of the *daksinas* are always in accordance with the purpose of the sacrifice. He also quotes the authority of M. Mauss, according to whom *daksina* belongs to the sphere of the gift-exchange system which is "characteristic of societies which have passed the phase of 'total presentation' (between clan and clan, family and family), but have not reached the stage of pure individual contact, the money market, sale proper, fixed price and coined money.

The Srautasutras direct that when priests are invited to officiate in a sacrifice, they have to inquire, beforehand, about the details of the sacrifice. They have to inquire about the other priests, the nature of the sacrifice, as to whether it is *ahina* etc., and as to whether the priesthood of that sacrifice had been refused by any other priest. In this inquiry there is also a question as to whether there would be auspicious (*kalyanyah*) *daksinas* or not. In keeping with this is the

prescription that after the building of the fire altar auspicious *daksinas* be given to the Adhvaryu priest.

Though *daksinas* are, generally, auspicious, there are some bad types of *daksinas* also. Black colour which is generally related to something inauspicious, unwished for and avoidable, is connected to *daksinas* which are of the inauspicious type. At the beginning of the Rajasuya sacrifice, there is an offering to *Nirrti* and *Anumati*, who represent the inauspicious and the auspicious respects of the earth. The *daksinas* for the *Nirrti* offering is a dark cloth with black border, for, this is the form of *Nirrti*, and by its from he removes *nirrti*. In an offering to Varuna in the course of the Rajasuya a black cloth is to be given. The same is the *daksina* to be given if the Agrayana is not offered. It is also to be given at a *kamya* offering to Agnivaishvanara. Again, if at the time of the piling up of the fire altar, the fire in the pot (*ukhyah agnih*) goes out, another fire is to be brought and a black cloth or a black cow is to be given as *daksina*.

A barren cow is given on certain occasions. One who has been taken captive and desires to escape offers an offering of Indra Arkavat. The *daksina* for this sacrifice is a barren cow (*vasa*). For clotted curds (*amilksa*), the *daksina* to Mitra and Varuna is a barren cow. The same is the *daksina* to the priest named Mitravaruna for the Dasapeya sacrifice included in the Rajayuya. The symbolic purpose of giving away a *vasa* (barren cow) is to ensure power (*vasa*) for the sacrificer.

The *daksinas* of Punradheya (the ritual for the re-establishment of fires), have to correspond with the nature of Punaradheya. The re-establishment—*daksinas* are: a resewn garment, a repaired chariot and a released bull, all of which are in keeping with the nature of the sacrifice.

A broken chariot which has been repaired is to be given at as Agrayana offering which is performed with the grains of

Syamaka or bamboo. The other optional *daksina* for this offering is the clot which has been used by the sacrificer during the rainy season. The Idaksinas of the Punastoma sacrifice should be of a kind where there is the word *punah* and accordingly they are second hand things, dully repaired before being offered. The *Latyaana Srautasutra* quotes Sandilya who prescribes for this sacrifice a reapirod chariot, a resewn woollen garment, a cow that had once stopped giving milk and has restrated giving milk and a calf than had stopped sucking milk and has again started to such milk, and states that one might select one or more of these as *daksina*. For Pitrmadha also old things are given *asdaksina*. An old ox, old barley and an old armchair with old head-cushion are given at that time. For the Satyaduta offering inthe Rajastiya, an old footwear is mentioned by Apastamba as an regional *daksina*; it is not known which school Apastamba is refering to here.

The *daksinas* of the Syena sacrifice are significantly non-attractive. Syane is a sacrifice to be performed by one who wishes to practise track magic against an enemy. The falcon (*syena*) is the swiftest of the birds and the sacrificer performing this sacrifice is supposed to catch his enemy as the falcon catches other birds. The sacrificial post is made of *Tailvaka* or *Badhaka* wood and has a point sharp as that of a sword (*eyiya*). The animal to be offered to Agni Rudravat is red. The sacrificial grass consists of reeds (*sara*) for hurting the rival. The sacrificial fuel is of *Vibhidaka* wood. The priest who conduct the sacrifice wear red turbans and red clothes, and have their sacred thread sound their necks. The *daksinas* for such an awful ceremony are in keeping with the nature and purposes of the sacrifice. These are groups of nine cows each. The first group consists of one-eyed (*kana*) cows, the second of lame (*khora*) cows, the third with defective horns (*kuta*), the fourth with some defect in the tail (or without the tail at all) (*handa*). At the time of giving away these cows, they are pricked with thoms.

Defective cows are offered incertain other sacrifices also. In the course of the Ratnin offerings made in the house of a discarded wife, a pap of black grains is offered to Nirrti. The *daksina* for this offering is a black old (*parimurni*) and diseased (*paryarini*) cow. Among the dakksinas to be given at the offering which is performed to facify Rudra who has attacked the cattle, there are such defective animals like a donkey without ears or a deer which has lost its hoofs.

Some *daksinas* are not non-attractive by themselves, but the background makes them so. If the oblation material gets burnt, *Nirrti* is supposed to get hold of the sacrifice. On this occasion, the *daksina* meant for that particular offering and the remaining portion of the offering material are given to one whom the sacrificer hates, at which *Nirrti* is supposed to take possession of the person to whom that *dakasina* has been given. The *daksina* of the first Sadyaska sacrifice is to be given either to a priest belonging to the Angirasa family or to one who is hated, inimical to the sacrificer or to a priest whom he hates. A *kamya* offering is performed in honour of Agni and Vaisvanara in which a cake on twelve potsherds is offered. The *daksina* of this offering is an one-year old bull and it is to be given to one whom, the sacrificer hates. The sacrificer thereby makes himself released from Varuna's nose, which take hold of the receiver of the *daksina*. If there is any defect in the cutting (*avadana*) of the offering material, then a re-cutting is made and, there, too the *daksina* meant for the offering is to be given to one whom the sacrificer hates.

If the cow which gives milk for the Agnihotra settles down at the time of milking, she is to be given to a Brahmana whom the sacrificer will not visit, for, the settling down of the cow is supposed to foretell further misfortune (*avarti*) and when the cow has been given every as directed above that disaster would attend the receiver. Similarly, if the Agnihotra-cow yeilds blood it is to be understood that the cow has done so seeing some future disaster to the sacrifice and the cow is,

then, to be given way to one whom the sacrificer will last visit; the disaster will then be transferred to that person.

A mention may be made, in this context, of the *daksinas* of *Vrityastoma*. These, called *vratyadhanas*, consist of a turban (*urfsam*), a goad (*pratodah*), a boe without arrow (*jyahrodah*), a board-covered rough vehicle (*vipathah phalakakastirnah*), a garment with black border (*krsnasam vasah*), two goat-skins, one of which is white and the other black (*krsna-valakse ajine*) and a silver permanent (worn) around the neck (*rajoto niskah*). These things are to be brought by the sacrificer for being given as *daksinas*. The other *uratyas* have upper garments with red border (*valukantani*) and corded fringes (*admatusani*) with strings at each side. Each of them have a pair of shoes (*upanahau*). Some authorities prescribe these *uratyadhanas* to be given to a person belonging to the Magadha country and whom is a *Brahmabandhu*, i.e. merely a relative of Brahmanas. According to other authorities the *uratyadhanas* might be given to those who have not yet given up their *vratyas* way of life. It is also said that they might be given to one whom the sacrificer hates. The result of this is that the evil is thrown upon one to whom the *daksinas* are given, whereby the sacrifice becomes purified.

It would be seen from the above discussion that sacrificial *daksinas* were not always profitable or attractive. There is little *Priesterliche Habsucht* in the case of *daksinas* for a large number of sacrifices. The conclusion which could be drawn from the above study on *daksinas* is that *daksinas* are connected with the nature and purpose of the sacrifice, and are not, by themselves, attractive, nor non-attractive.

Northwestern Tribes

Other tribes mentioned in connection with the great event of the 'War-of-Ten-kings' are the Paktha, Bhalana, Alina, Visanin and the Sivas. As allies of king Bheda and mentioned the Aja

Sigru and the Yaksu. Bheda was defeated on the bank of the Yamuna by Sudas; it appears, hence, that he was an eastern king.

"The Pakthas, the Bhalans, the Alinas, the Visanins and the Sivas made a tumult (RV. VII. 18.7).

"The Yamuna and the Trtsus protected Indra (who helped Sudas to victory); here did he completely won Bheda. The Ajas, the Sigrus and the Yaksus brought the heads of horses as tribute." (v. -19).

The Paktha, Bhalana, Alina and the Visanin were to the west of the Sindhu (Indus) and they had, obviously, crossed the river to join the Maruavrdha.

The Pakthas have been identified as the Pathans of today; and they were the Paktkuilch of Herodotus. The Pakthas, probably, were not non-Aryan, as one Paktha king is mentioned in the *Rgveda* as having been favoured by the Asvins (VIII. 22. 10 "come with your favours, Asvin, with which you protected the Paktha"); and he is also mentioned as being favoured by Indra along with Trasadasyu, Gosarya, Dasavraja and Rjisvan (VIII. 49.10. He was an Aryan king settled in, and ruling, the region east of modern Afghanistan.

The Bhalans have been identified as the people living nearabout the Bolon pass. The Alina were, according to Zimmer, the tribe in Kafiristan. The Sivas have been identified as the people living nearabout the Bolon pass. The Alina were, according to Zimmer, the tribe in Kafiristan. The Sivas have been identified as the Siboi, and inhabited the region between the Indus and the Asikni, called Usinara, in the northern vicinity of the Kuru-Pancalas. The *Aitareya Br.* locates the region thus, "Those regions beyond the Himalayas such as the Uttara Kurus, the North Madra, and those kings of the Kuru-Pancalas, for the kingdom of the Savasa-Usinara" (Ai. Br. VIII. 14). The Visanin means "horned", and may be compared with the Srngin tribe mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, in

connection with the sacrifice of Dharmaraja, along with the Saka, Tusara, Kanka and Romasa (Sabha 51.30 *sakas tusarah kankas ca romasa srsnigino narah*).

A section of the Sakas is mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions as the drinkers of Soma, and living in Tashkand. They are designated as '*tigra-khaud*', which appears to be a corrupt form of '*tigra-kakud*' (Sanskrit), "pointed projection", which suggests the horns. This is corroborated by the evidence of a later time, according to which gold was dug up by certain ants of unnatural size, and having horns. In fact these "ants" were men with horned skin-wear, who appeared like big-sized ants from the distance, and would attack an intruder. This would indicate that horned people (i.e. having horned head-dress) lived in the northern part of Kashmir, or, roughly to the north west of the ancient Kuru-Pancala. The Sakas are not mentioned in the Vedic texts; but it is not improbable that the Soma-drinking Sakas, having their pointed (horned) head-dress, were the Aryanised descendants of some of the Visanins, who in the Vedic past were non-Aryan. The legend of the gold horned ants(!), coupled with the Sakas, would help explain the later name Karnaka-saka (*Brhatsamhita* XIV. 21).

The Cedis are mentioned by the *Rgveda*, along with their king Kasu (VIII. 5. 37 "As, indeed, Kasu Caidya gifted away a hundred camels and ten thousand cows"; v. 38 "who made over to me (Kanva) ten kings of golden hue (as slaves?)").

The Gandharis lived in the North-western region; and they were known as traders in wool. Their ewes are mentioned (RV I. 126. 7 "I am hairy all over like the ewe of the Gandharis"). The *Atharvaveda* mentions them along with the Kujavats (AV V. 22.14 *gandharibhyo mujavadbhyah*); and they were settled in the North-western region along the bank of the Kubha up to its junction with the Indus.

Paippaladasamhita

The Paippaladasamhita of the Atharvaveda (=AVP) was first discovered in the seventies of the last century. It was a single birchbark MS (=K) partly destroyed and consisting of an unusually corrupt text. But even this MS could give one an idea of the independent character of the AVP in relation to the more well known Saunakiyasamhita of the Atharvaveda (=AVS).

In 1959 the late Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharya discovered several MSS of the AVP (=Or) in Oriss. These contain better readings and are complete.

Unfortunately the discoverer breathed his last (November 1965) before the publication of the entire AVP which he had been editing. Of the 20 Kandas only the first Kanda (111 hymns) was published (Sanskrit College Calcutta, 1964) during his lifetime. The second volume consisting of Kandas II—IV (171 hymns) was published in 1970. The third volume is in press.

The delay in the publication encouraged the present author, who is at present engaged in completing the edition, to start examining collecting and arranging the new material this

Samhita offers us. The term new material means the literature which we can know as part of the Paippaladasamhita from the Orissa manuscripts as well as, partially, from K.

Both the AVS and the AVP consist of 20 Kandas. The number of hymns and stanzas found in the AVS, Or and K is given in the following table.

It should be noted here that because of its corrupt nature, it is very difficult to count the total number of stanzas in K. Barret put the figure around 6500. Table I does not give an accurate idea of the actual magnitude of Or in relation to K. For, the hymn division in K is often indicating the divisions into hymns. Usually the number is more in Or, either because of the lacunas of K or because of the smaller size of the hymns in Or. The Or MSS too occasionally vary between themselves.

The word *atharv ana* is used in the Atharvaveda itself in the sense of secret formula or remedy. From this it is gathered that the *atharvana* designated simply that section of this Veda which is devoted to *bhesaja*, 'medicine', and that it was at a subsequent period that it began to designate all sorts of Vedic composition that pass by the name of the Atharvaveda.

According to tradition there were nine schools of the Atharvaveda. They were (1) the Paippalada, (2) the Tauda, (3) the Mauda, (4) the Saunakiya, (5) the Jalala, (6) the Jalada, (7) the Brahmavada, (8) the Devadarsa and (9) the Caranavaidya.

Of these nine schools, it has been commonly believed that we possess the texts of only the Paippalada and the Saunikiya Sakhas, the latter being designated also as the Vulgate.

Sayana has commented on one of the Sakhas of the Atharvaveda. His commentary is included in S.P. Pandita's edition of the Vulgate. But it is found that the commentator is not always faithful to the text. His texts differ from those of the Vulgate in a very large number of places. He construes

his *anuvakas* in a way that is different from the one that is followed in the manuscripts of the Vulgate. Sayana sometimes adopts the Paippalada texts in preference to those of the Vulgate. He differs in the treatment of the accents. These led Dr. Suryakanta to conclude that the text commented upon by Sayana constituted another school of the Atharvaveda.

So following Dr. Suryakanta, we possess now the texts of not only the two schools but also of a third, namely:

1. The Paippalada.
2. The Vulgate as presented in the edition of Roth and Whitney.
3. The texts as represented in the commentary of Sayana.

It has, further, been commonly believed that the Vulgate texts represented the Saunakiya Sakha. Had it been so, as argues Dr. Suryakanta, the Vulgate texts would have strictly confirmed to the phonetic rules laid down by Saunaka in his *Caturadhyayika*, published by Whitney under the title of the *Atharvaveda-Pratisakhya*. But it is not so. The Vulgate texts present an altogether different set of phonetic laws in several aspects. It is sometimes noticeable that the examples cited in the *Caturadhyayika* are not to be found in the vulgate texts. From these Dr. Suryakanta concludes that it is not right to consider the Vulgate as representing the Saunakiya school.

Dr. Suryakanta proceeds further and suggests that if it could be shown that Sayana followed *Caturadhyayika*, it could be proved that Sayana has commented on the Saunakiya texts.

So far the scholar is thoroughly reasonable. But nobody, including Dr. Suryakanta, has even attempted to demonstrate the last hypothesis. Hence his further argument is devoid of logic, by which he thrusts the *Caturadhyayika* over to the texts commented upon by Sayana and concludes that the *Caturadhyayika*, along with the latter, constitutes the Vedic texts of the Saunakiya school.

Whether Sayana's texts belong at the Saunakiya school or not, the fact remains that we are in possession of the texts of not less than three schools. Of them, we are sure about the identity of the Sakha of Paipalada, and we do not know really which sakha the Vulgate, as well as the texts commented upon by Sayana, belongs to. Of these, the Vulgate texts and the Atharvaveda-Pratisakhya, published by Dr. Suryakanta are in complete accord and, as such, the two belong to the same school.

As to the Caturadhyayika's affiliation to the Sakha, commented upon by Sayana, it may be said that even in the latter all the examples quoted in the former are not available. Anyway it is still problematic to say whether the Caturdhyayika belongs to this sakha or not, and, as such, whether the Caturadhyayika belongs to this Sakha or not, and, as such, whether Sayana's texts represent the Saunakiya Sakha or not.

The different names of this Sakha are (1) Paippaladaka, (2) Paippaladi, (3) Pippalada, (4) Paippala and (5) Paippalayana, as referred to in various Sanskrit texts. All these names point to a common origin *Pippala*. We do not know if these was the name of a sage. Of course Paippalada, is connected to *Pippalada*, eater of *pippala* (a herb), which was the name of a sage.

We do not hear the name of this sage in any of the early Vedic texts we come down to the Upanisads. In the texts of the Paippalada even, where we find the names of several classes of priests, including that of Saunaka, there is no mention of Paippalada. The author here speaks of himself in the first person, and hence he had no necessity of mentioning his own name.

Parye Divi

The word *parya-* has attracted less attention than might be expected on account of its meaning, which would seem to be

of direct importance for our understanding of the general character of the Rigveda. It seems indeed to belong to a group of words that are strictly confined to this oldest collection of Vedic hymns. The few occurrences of it in later Vedic texts are merely quotations of Rigvedic mantras. It should be noticed that the Yajurvedic word *parya-* “on this side” are based on the post-Rigvedic opposition *pare: avare* (VS., TS., AB.). In its earliest occurrences this word is still accented *parya-* (VSM, XXV.1, VSK. XXVII. 1;2) like the Rigvedic word, with which it must originally have been identical. After the specific Rigvedic meaning had fallen into desuetude, the word remained in use as the opposite of *avarya-* and adopted the accentuation of the latter word (which was perhaps due to the formal analogy of the gerundives like *acarya-*, *attarya-*; see Altindische Grammatic II/2, p. 793).

The Rigvedic word *parya-* had indeed a quite different meaning. It is a normal *-ya-*-derivative of *para-*, whose original meaning “crossing” is still preserved in the bahuvrihi-compound *supara-* “easy to be crossed”. As early as the oldest texts, however, *para-* had come to denote “further bank, the opposite side, the end or limite of anything”. It is used with reference to a road (*adhvanah param* V.54.10) as well as to the sea or a river (*samudrasya...pare* I.167.2, *sindhoh pare* X.155.3), but more particularly it is associated with words denoting “darkness” or “distress”. The most characteristic stanza is *atarisma tamasas param asya* “wir sind ans Ende dieser Finsternis gelangt” (I.92.6; 183.6; 184.6; VII.73.1). In the first of these passages these words are followed by the pada *usa uchanti vayuna krnoti* “die Usas bestimmt aufleuchtend die Zeiten”. Elsewhere an attempt has been made to demonstrate that this passage refers to the end of the year. Cf. the Yajurvedic mantra *vi mucyadhvam aghnya devayana, aganma tamasas param asya/jyotir apama* “be ye unyoked, we inviolable, godward-striding (oxen). We have come to the end of this gloom, we have attained the light” (VSM. XII. 73 etc.). Such an application is also plausible in

II.33.3 *parsi nah param amhasah svasti, visva abhiti rapaso yuyodhi* “fuhr uns heil an das Ende der Not, where alle Anfälle von Gebreite ab!”.

Physiology

The information that we can obtain from the hymns and from sacrificial formulae relating to the ideas the Vedic authors could have had concerning the play of organic functions, is obviously scanty. Numerous allusions have yielded us the names of diseases, of organs, of parts and elements of the body, but they cannot replace the enunciations of theories. However, people have tried to find in the Veda proofs to show that the fundamental theory of Ayurvedic physiology, that of the three active elements—wind, bile and phelgm—was already known at the time of the composition of hymns.

A hymn addressed to the Asvins, after saying that they give thrice the remedies of the Sky, of the Earth and Waters, calls on them to carry (*vahatam*) to the son of the reciter the *tridhatu sarma* (RV., 1-34-6). *Sarman* denotes “protection” or “well-being”, but the later sense has come in only classical Sanskrit. The commentator Sayana has understood it to refer to the well-being of the three bodily elements of classical medicine. However, *tridhatu* means literally “consisting of three objects”, therefore “triple”, and it refer to the triple protection of three sorts of remedies which are mentioned here. Moreover, the following verse also contains the word *tridhatu*, and there the sense of triple is unchallenged. The translators have, at a very early date, recognised that the interpretation of Sayana had been abusive. Langlois who published in 1848 the first complete translation of the *Rgveda*, although, generally speaking, he has not been a faithful translator, has rightly recognised and pointed out in a note that *tridhatu sarma vahatam* simply signified “triplex auxilium ferte”, although, in translation, he has followed the sense of the commentary. The majority of other translators have not

even taken not of the interpretation of Sayana, except Wilson who has accepted it without reserve because he had made it a rule to follow the commentary, and has thus led the historians of medicine to believe that the fundamental theory of Indian pathology was to be found in the *Rgveda*. Reinhold Müller has done well to refute this view once again.

The question has been raised again *a propos* the *Atharvaveda* by Dasgupta. In an article in the *Hastings Encyclopaedia*, Bolling had quite rightly said that the theory of the tridosas or *tri-dhatus* did not appear in the early Vedic texts and was found for the first time only in the *Atharvaveda-parisista* (68), a later appendix of the Veda itself. He had also maintained that the expression *vaticrtanasani* (*AV*, VI, 44-3) does not prove that the wind was already conceived as a bodily element and a cause of diseases; this expression signified “which destroys what is transformed into wind” and not “which destroys that which is made by the wind”. Moreover this compound qualifies a remedy which in the preceding verse is called “remedy of the flux (diarrhical, probably)” *asravabhesajam*, and the wind in question is undoubtedly that of the intestines. But Dasgupta thinks that another passage shows clearly that diseases were divided into three categories caused by the wind, the water and the fire. In the *AV*, I, 12, 3 the words, *yo abhraja vataja yas ca susmo...*, seem to signify “(the disease) which is born of the cloud (of the humid), one that is the type of translation which result from the explanations of Dasgupta who derives *susma* from the root *sus*, “to dry”. But Reinhold Müller has justly remarked that the words *abhraja* and *vataja* merely qualify *susma*. One must understand these words to mean, as translators have done so far: “...the *susma* which is born of the cloud and the one that is born of the wind...” Besides the sense of *susma* in this passage is uncertain. The root *sus* in Vedic can also denote “to whistle”; in the *AV*. This word has even the sense of “vigour”. In any case Blookfield translates it here by “lightning” and Whitney as “blast” (with doubt).

One should, therefore, renounce all attempts at finding the formal proof of the existence of the theory of the *tridhatu* or *tridosā* in the *Atharvaveda*. Dasgupta also gives another argument; he observes that in *AV.*, VI, 109, *pippali*, the long pepper, is at the same time called “the remedy of the *vaticrta*” and “the remedy of the *ksipta*”. He interprets *vaticrta* as denoting “that which is produced by the wind” and *ksipa* as madness. The classical literature does consider madness as being due to the wind of the organism. But we have just now seen that *vaticrta* denotes “that which is transformed into wind” (grammatically no other interpretation is possible), and *ksipta* cannot denote madness. The root *ksip* denotes “to throw”. In classical Sanskrit it also frequently signifies “to destroy, to wound”. In the passage referred to above, *ksipta* denotes, as in the classical, “wounded” or, what comes to mean the same thing by a round about interpretation, “that which is produced by an arrow that is shot” (Roth: Schuss- oder Wurfwunde). In *ksiptacitta*, *ksipta* applies to the spirit to signify that the spirit is troubled or distracted and it is least probable that one has to suppose here, in place of the most natural one, some other sense.

But, if the fundamental pathological theory of classical medicine had not assumed shape at the time of the redaction of the Rgvedic hymns and even of those of the *Atharvaveda* or, if at least nothing can prove to us that it had assumed shape, it does not seem to be doubtful that right from the time of the *Atharvaveda*, elements had, in part, been prepared for its elaboration. We have seen (p. 117) that *balasa* designated swellings, the aqueous infiltration of the organism, the *slesman*, “phlegm” or “mucus”. The fire which has a manifest role in affections like fever, was accepted as an important element in physiology, because of the equivalence postulated since the Veda between the macrocosm and the microcosm and already the bile had been assimilated with the fire as it is in medical theory.

As regards the wind, the Veda shows that it was already conceived simultaneously as an organic and cosmic force and the multiplicity of the organic winds, already distinguished one from the other, shows that pneumatology which dominates the physiology of Ayurveda was already in the course of formation.

We have already examined in the Vedic texts the most characteristic ideas of ancient India concerning the wind, the cosmic and universal force and the prototype of all motor-force in the microcosm and the macrocosm (pp. 61 ff.). Comparison with the Avestic data has shown us that these ideas were largely Indo-Iranian. Here we still have to show the extent to which the Vedic texts already contain, either in germ or in full form, the special concepts of Ayurvedic medicine on the role of the wind in the economy of the organism. For this purpose we have to study those principal passages of the Veda which contain the names of the vital winds, the *pranas*.

Arthur H. Ewing has patiently collected the references to these breaths in the entire Vedic literature, adding in an appendix some of their definitions found in classical literature. He has frequently compared and reproduced various translations proposed by philologists. All this work of analysis and classification is and will remain extremely useful. The conclusions reached by him are given briefly here:—

1. The point of departure of the series of *prana* is the word *prana*, “breath in general”;
2. The division of the respiratory activity into inspiration and expiration is primitive and appears at an early date in the dual compound, *pranapanau*;
3. With his habit of careful observation, the Hindu could have, and in all probability, has observed from an early date the interval between respirations, wherefrom the supposition of a breath remaining even in the absence of *prana* and

of *apana*, i.e., *vyana*, “separate respiration”;

4. With a desire to create a more varied play of symbols, terms analogues to *prana*, *apana* and *vyana* have been multiplied by grafting the root *an* on to the pre-verbs *sam-* and *ud-*, which gives us *samana* and *udana*;
5. *Apana* in the sense of expiration has been superceded by *udana*; secondarily *udana* appears, etymologically more convenient, to denote expiration;
6. Wishing to establish similarities between the different members of the series of *pranas* and the bricks of the altar of Agni, one has been led to give to *apana* a sense other than the original on;
7. In the Upanisads efforts have been made to explain secondarily the locations adopted to meet the ends of sacrificial symbolism for diverse *pranas*. For example, the fact that *apana* had been placed in the tail of the bird-shaped altar has led to its localisation in the intestine and in the urinary canals; *samana*, having been placed in the middle, could become an agent of digestion;
8. Deductions of this on localisations and functions of *pranas* are more or less the contributions to Indian ideas of anatomy and physiology but have no value in themselves, as they do not account for the formation of the series of *pranas* on an empirical basis. Each attempt at explanation is to be taken, as the expression of an individual opinion insofar as it is not merely traditional;
9. As regards the translation, the results are mostly negative. Where the entire series appears, it is always symbolic and one can do not more than transliterate.
10. However, a positive result of some value is there: *prana* signifies either the double process of respiration or “inspiration” in opposition to “expiration”.

The majority of these conclusions are not at all valid as they are implicitly based on the double postulation that the Indians, speculating on breath in the organism, could only have originally, in view the respiratory breath and that they had, later on, given it no thought except those relative to ritual symbolism. The idea that for the mere requirements of this symbolism and because of the mechanical play of the grammatical rules of the formation of nouns, the Indians found themselves in possession of a nomenclature of breaths and that they have been obliged to invent physiological reasons for justifying this nomenclature, is presented as a result. This, however, is only a strange hypothesis.

Ewing has been led here by the method adopted rightly by him but which he has blindly applied. He has studied the mentioned of the breaths successively in the diverse strata of the Vedic literature and this was necessary. But, when in an earlier stratum, the context would not yield a definite sense, he has seldom tried to enlighten himself about the definite meaning found in a more recent stratum. He does not seem to have envisaged that the sense given in the more recent texts could have been anything but a novelty in these texts; he had believed that it was the result of an attempt at interpreting a more ancient text. In fact, lightly inserting a value guaranteed only by a Brahmana or an Upanisad into a Vedic Samhita could lead to anachronism.

Political Institution

It appears that the post of the *gramani* was by election originally; and there is indication that to get the post of the *gramani* was supposed to be a great gain: "By the status of the *gramani*, indeed, the Vaisya becomes respectable" (*Mait. Sam* I. 6. 5). The *gramani* was for also called *gramyavadin*; or, it is probable that the latter was distinct from the former in the matters of justice, being the village judge: "He who sits like the *gramyavadin*" (*Ibid* II. 2.6; *Taitt. Sam.* II.3.1.3).

The *janas* a category wider than the *grama*, indicating a collection of many *gramas*; in between these two was the unit *Vis. Rajan*, who was above the *gramani*, was called the protector of the *jana*: “I hope you will make me the protector of the *jana* (*janasyagopam*), indeed, the king of the people, O benevolent Indra” (RV III. 43.5) which indicates that the *janasya gopa* was a chosen title of the king. Another title of the king was *vispati*; and there is indication that as the *vispati*, the king was elected by the people, though later in the period of the kingship being ancestral, this was only formal: The people (*visah*) did establish you as the *vispati* in your abode, O Rajan” (RV. II. 1.8). “The election of the king is indicated by the following legend in the Brahmana-text: “The Devas said, ‘It is on account of our being without a king that the Asuras defeat us; let us elect a king’ (*Ai. Br.* I.14). “The gods went to Prajapati, and said, “There can be no battle for a state having no king,’ They enured Indra to be their leader (king)” (*Taitt. Br.* I. 5. 9).

The *Regveda* gives the following simile about the selection of Indra: “Like the *visah* (plural, “people”) choosing the king” (X. 124.8 *Viso ka rajnam urnana*); and there is also indication that it was the people who could desire or discard a king: “May the people (*Visah*) desire you, may not the *rastra* fall away from you” (X.173.1). This will show the king to have been elected, or selected, by the people. The body that ultimately selected the king was the *samiti* (AV. VI. 88.3 *dhruvaya te samitih kalpayatam*), which must have been formed by men at various levels of the state. Later, however, there are clear indication of kingship becoming hereditary in. The Puranic tradition makes Nahusa the father of Yayati. And the same is seen in the *Rgveda*. At another place it is said, “Agni! the gods have made you the lord of Nahusa”, *nahusasya Vispatim* (I. 31.11). This will show that the Lunar dynasty of Yayati is as ancient and respectable as Manu. The Puranic tradition has it that Yayati himself was born in the family of Manu, the line being: Manu>Ila\Ila), who married

Budha in his female form>Pururavas>Ayu>Nahusa>Yayati>the five sons, mentioned as the five tribes who fought against Sudas Bharata. Pururavas is mentioned in the *Rgveda* in the famous hymn of Urvashi Pururavas (X.95), and once as a respectable sacrificier (I 31.4 where he is mentioned with Manu: "For Manu you caused the heaven to thunder; for Pururavas, the virtuous, you became the doer of favours"). The son of Yayai, Anu by name according to the tradition of the Puranas, had the son called Usinara, of whom Sibi was the son, as the tradition says.

The *Rgveda* does not mention Usinara; but it mentions the queen of the Usinaras, who gave gifts to the priests who are mentioned as 'Gaupayana' (X. 59.10 "the chariot of Usinarani"). The dynastic position of the Bharatas we have already seen. This would mean that Divodasa was far later than Yayati, and was of another tribe. The clear mention of the five (sons of Yayti) in the War-of-Ten-Kings indicates that they were contemporaries of Sudas Bharata or of Divodasa. Ikshvaku is mentioned only once in the *Rgveda* (X 60.4 "In whose command is Ikshvaku"); but the king of the family of Ikshvaku, who performed the Horse-sacrifice, is named Purukutsa in the *Brahmaas* (Sat XIII. 5.4.5 *purukutso...ije Aikshvako raja*); and Purukutsa is referred to in the *Rgvedas* being a king of the Purus (VI.20. 10 "As the Purus praised by sacrifices, Indra subdued the citadels to Purukutsa). The son of Purukutsa was Trasasyu, and it is indicated that he was born to his mother in a difficult situation. But, simply the association of the Purus here and the defeat of Puru at the hands of Sudas does not necessarily show that Purukutsa and Puru were identical. The probability is that Purukutsa was of the family of Ikshvaku, and due to some relationship the Purus migrated from the region west to the Sarasvati to the eastern region of Prkutsa. This will mean that Purukutsa was later than Sudas Bharata.

Another important name is that of Janamejaya Pariksha (son

of Pariksit), which does not occur in the *Rgveda*; but according to later records he is said to have performed the Horse-sacrifice) did Indrota Saunhaka, the son of Devapi, make Janamejaya, the son of Pariksit, sacrifice"). This Janamejaya was the ancestor of the Pandavas; and probably he flourished after the time of Sudas Bharata. There is some indication to believe that Turaf Kavaseya, who performed the Aindra Mahabhiseka for him (*Ai. Br.* IV 27; VII. 34) was the grandson or the son of Kavasa who was drowned in the Parusni, in the War-of-Ten-kings (*RV.* VII. 18.12 'The wielder of the bolt (Indra), indeed, threw in the waters the learned old Kavasa"). In addition to these, the Bharata-Trtsu clan of Divaodasa made further advance to the east; and in the later period a king of their clan, Satanika Satrajaita defeated Dhrtarastra, the king of Kasi, and captured his sacrificial horse (*Sat. Br.* XIII. 5.4.19); and earlier Bharata, the son of Dusyanta, is reported to have performed the Horse-sacrifice (*Ibid.* 11).

Postures of Sex

We have noted above that the terracota *mithunas*, in various postures, were found quite early, and that in certain cases they tally with those in the sculptures are presented on prominent places in the caves and temples, such as Karla, Kondana, Badami (ancient Vatapi), Pattadakal ("The stone of coronation" literally, as the Calukyas used this place for this purpose), Aihole and other places. Various types of *mithunas* have been noted by scholars, such as man mating with one woman, two women with one man; *viparita rata*, also called *purusayita*; the oral congress: by man in the case of the woman (*cunnilingus*), by woman in the case of the man (*fellatio*), and by both mutually; the orgiastic type and so on. In certain types the copulating couple is being helped by others. Many of these postures are recorded by Vatsyayana; and it is not unlikely that Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra* induced many poses; but the real purpose of depicting them cannot be said to be lesson in erotics.

A lot of confusion exists about the main purpose of the *mithuna*-sculpture, some of the points being:

- (i) To protect the temples from thunder and lightning. But this does not explain the *mithunas* in well protected caves;
- (ii) To attract the common man to the house of God;
- (iii) To test the sudden prior to his entry into the realm of the divine etc. But none of these have been accepted by all; and moreover, the existence of the terracottas belie all these opinions. The votive offering of the terracottas (the probability of which we have noted) in a particular pose might itself have suggested a particular sex-posture in the Kamasutras, as is the case with the *purusayita* position in one of the terracottas we have noted above. Or, conversely, the votive offerer might have thought of a pose that was typical and already known.

At any rate, the poses are prior to the period of Vatsyayana; and, though others like Babhravya and Dattaka, whom Vatsyayana mentions, might be taken as the teachers in this field, it is hardly probable that the votive offer would have thought of showing his up-to-date and scientific knowledge in his offering. The point is that the treatise-writers might have themselves been indebted to the offers, though their elaboration on this subject helped the sculptures in the later period (10th ct. A.D.) achieve intricate designs. Fellatio, for example, was present in the 2nd ct. B.C., though in the 9th and the 11th century A.D. it developed varieties. It is not necessary to go into the details of this aspects, as we restrict ourselves to the Vedic period.

The main purpose of the enactment of the sex-act was the gain of fertility in the Vedic period, as is the case with many other tribes. The Brahmana texts, as has been noted, used this motif extensively; and the main strain was to form a

procreative *mithuna* (*mithunam prajanam*, at various places). Two important types in this respect are: the actual coitus between an animal (horse and the monkey) and the woman, and between man and a woman. The first was seen in the Brahmanic Horse-sacrifice (the monkey-type being lost in the early Vedic period itself), and the other was practised in the Mahavrata.

In the connection it is interesting to note a few sculptures from Bellagavi from the Shimoga district of Karnataka. In one of these we see, in a panel, a monkey ready to copulate with a woman; he is half bent in position; the legs of the woman, lying on her back, are flanked to his thighs; the woman is lying on the stretched legs of another woman who is sitting and is holding her; this is in the left side of the panel. In the middle are seen a couple of women, one facing to her right to the *mithuna* in the left corner, the other (the face is semi-broken) has her one hand on her vagina; to her left, and on the right corner of the panel, are two monkeys in a semi-copulative posture, the front one (who is by the side of the woman) trying to hold a woman. This type is not seen at other sites, and seems to be peculiar to Bellagavi. The monkey motif, as such, is faintly seen elsewhere, but this is unique to this place. Now, it is to be remembered that in the 1st ct. B.C. the Satavahans ruled the southern region of India including Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra; they claimed to be Brahmanas; Gautamiputra Satakarni called himself "the unique Brahmana"; Sri Satakarni performed two Horse-sacrifices, defeated the Sungas and ruled over Malva and other portions of North India.

In the wake of the practice of *mithuna*-sculptures then gaining ground, it is only expected that the Satavahanas would give impetus to Vedic themes. The Bellagavi sculptures are said to be of the late medieval period; but the point, probably, requires reconsideration; or, at least, the older influence could not be denied. If this is accepted, the guess is whether they

indicate the scene of the Vrsakapi-Indrani hymn (mating of the Monkey and the woman personifying Indrani)? The hymn has also the female monkey Vrsakapayi. Interestingly, in another sculpture from the same place we see a horse-like figure mating with a woman, who is lying on her back with legs folded. In a sculpture from Khajuraho (10th ct. A.D.) we see an aristocratic person (King?) cohabiting with a mare (in an obvious reversal of the old theme). In yet another sculpture from Bellagavi we have a *purusayita* motif in the middle on a cot; on the left is a standing intertwined human *mithuna*; and on the right is a standing *mithuna*, the face of the man is blurred white that of the woman is of a mare. In these sculptures there is no indication of the season, but in another one we have the indication of vegetation.

In this sculpture we have the cot on which there is a regular copulation of the humans; on the left a man is having a standing semi-copulative pose with a woman who is standing with her back to him; and in the middle we see a couple (*mithuna*) of rams, standing on four and facing each other; and between them there is a jackal, standing on his hind legs. At the two sides of this central ram-jackal depiction there are trees with flowers and planation-trees. At a sculpture from the Limboji Mata Temple (Delmel, Dist. Mehsana) we have a horse-faced man standing in coitus with a woman in the left corner, which on the right is seen as ascetic in standing copulation with a woman. These scenes cannot be supported from Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*, which only mention "mating like the animals", and the animals do not mate both on two legs standing like men.

Inherent in such sculptures is the idea of symbolic (and not actual) copulation, as is the case with the Vedic, the belief that certain animals represent the divine virility (and generally, the sun). The monkey and the horse clearly figures in the Vedic rite. The horse-sacrifice was popular in practice and in legends. Writers and sculptors on Erotics were, obviously,

influenced by this ritual-sex and added more animals for *vaicitrya* (variety) in the *citra-rata*, as they termed it. The theme of the Horse-mare divinity is the oldest in the Indian zoomorphism, paralleled only by that of Bull-cow. The Saranyu-Vivasvan myth is an example in this case, of which the later aspect is the Hayagriva-Visnu (horse-headed Visnu) form. In an interesting legend in the *Skanda P.* (VI. 81. 11; 84.15-19), a Brahmana girl who (unknowingly) sleeps on the bed of Visnu is cursed by Laksmi, in jealousy, to be born mare-faced; but Visnu pacifies Laksmi and it is agreed that the mare-face will be only for one birth, and that in the next birth when she is born with mare-face she will be the sister of the Krsna-*avatara* of Visnu. As she is born thus, Krsna and Balarama take her to Brahma, who restores her original form, and re-names her as Subhadra.

It will be pertinent to note, and appreciate, that Subhadra comes as a symbolic name in the Horse-sacrifice as the female-mate of the Horse, whom the queen or the ritual-woman is portrayed as substituting or impersonating.

It will be pertinent to note, and appreciate, that Subhadra comes as a symbolic name in the Horse-sacrifice as the female-mate of the Horse, whom the queen or the ritual-woman is portrayed as substituting or impersonating. The "Subhadra" at the *SK. P.* noted above is the fertility goddess. Thus, the equation is: Subhadra = Fertility = mare. This compares also with the mare-king copulation. We may also note that the worship of Subhadra is enjoining in the month of Magha, and on the 12th day, which comes at about the end of the year and is adjacent to the spring. It was also in the month of Phalguna (bright half) that the Horse-sacrifice was performed. Cases of animal-coitus, or mixed human-animal coitus in the sculpture, need not be referred to the *citra-rata* of the Kamasutra, where the humans *act as animals*, but to spring and fertility-rituals such as Mahavrata, where we have "copulation of creatures" (*Ait. Ar. V. 1.5 bhutanam ca*

maithnunam) where the word *bhutanam* does not restrict it to one particular type of creatures, but to mixed copulation or purely human or purely animal, the whole idea being of general fructification and fullness of coitus (cf. *prajananam*; and *mithunasya sarvatvaya*).

Pottery and Clay-work

In spite of the fact that for the preparation of Soma containers made of wood (called *kalasa* or *drona*) were used, we have references to the *kumbha* and the *kulala*, which indicate that clay was used for making utensils. For sacrificial purposes hand-made clay utensils were used. The *kumbha* is mentioned as *kulalakrta* (*Maitrayani Sam.* I.8.3. : cf. *Vaj. Sam.* XXX.7 *tapase kaulalam*). The *Rgveda* mention the *kumbha*, though not the *kulala*, but there is no doubt that it was known (RV.I.116.7 “(The Asvins) sprinkled a hundred *kumbhas* of wine”; see also 117.6 etc.). The *kumbha* is mentioned even later (AV.I.6.4 “The waters that have been fetched in the *kumbha*”) The *kumbha* seems to have been the usual container; for it is mentioned to be kept in the newly constructed dwelling (*sala*) in large numbers (AV. III.12.7 “A hundred *kumbhas* of the drink *priasrt* (a kind of wine), along with the *kalasas* of curds have arrived to her”). The Brahmana-ritual mentions postsherds of various size for the preparation of the sacrificial cake (*purodasa*). Though the potter’s wheel is not mentioned directly, the *kumbhas* might have been shaped on the wheel. In the findings of the Indus valley, however, the use of the wheel is clear.

Pragmatism

So the question remains a perennial question: The world is Real or Unreal. Reality sometimes tune out into Unreality and Unreality at times turns out into Reality. Let us see what is the truth.

The world is Unreal is proved by many factors. Nobody can

deny the fact that ultimately we have to leave the world. It has been truly said: "Dust thou Art unto dust returnest". So much so, most of us are consigned to the flames and some of us are buried in ground after death. We are lost to the world and the world is lost to us. Everything becomes Unreal. Alexander, the Great, is said to have willed that at the time of his death in his cremation procession, he should be carried with both his palms empty and arms outstretched, proclaiming to the world that all he amassed turned into nothing, and all became Unreality. This happens to one and all of us without exception. Buddha renounced the Kingdom when he realised by experience that this world is Unreal. Every moment, every event of the world proclaims, at its loudest voice, the Unreality of this material world. Shankaracharya—the richest non-material Sandhu—is the great proponent of the unreality of the material world. Though it is contradiction in life, still it is a contradiction which shows that the so-called Unreality of the world of matter has got some Reality behind it.

Seeing richness of the ascetic Shankaracharya the question arises: is the material world really unreal and non-existent? If it is unreal and non-existent then why all this bother and why the people cling to it and those proclaiming renunciation cannot renounce it? Grasping the question of the non-reality of the world and accepting the world as false (Mithya), the Upanisad asks:—

‘कथं वै असतः सत् जायेत्’

How is it that existence has originated from non-existence, if the world is Unreal? It is a matter of common sense that the thing which we call Real, which may see, touch and feel may vanish or disappear but how can things which we call material or Real may have their origin from Unreality? Non-existence may follow from existence, but existence, cannot follow from non-existence. That will be against the Law of Nature. Under the circumstance, we shall have to accept the existence of Matter and Its Reality.

There is a Puranic anecdote explaining the palpable reality of the world of matter and material objects. It is said that once a flourishing merchant constructed a rest-house for the say of Pilgrims in a holy city. Visnu and his spouse Laxmi happened to visit that place. At the time they were engaged in a discussion as to whether the world of matter is Reality or is a Falsity Non-Real. Laxmi said that the world is Real as it worships money-power. Visnu argued that the world is Unreal as it also condemns money-power and derides the rich. Ultimately, they decided to put their respective theories to test by a practical manner. The shape of the practical test was that both of them separately, on different occasions, should approach the merchant for two nights, stay in his rest house, and whosoever of the two succeeds to persuade the merchant to evict the occupant of the rest house, his or her theory would be correct. It was presumed that as the merchant is already very rich he will not succumb to money persuasion.

Now if Laxmi succeeds to oust Vishnu from his Luxurious abode on the temptation of money, then it will be concluded that the world of matter is Real on the other hand, if Visnu succeeds in persuading the merchant that as he had enough money he should not succumb to money allurements if he is offered such, in that case Visnu theory of the Unreality of the world of the matter will be established. First, Visnu went to the merchant and requested for two nights accommodation. He was given best room and was served the best food. Visnu took out his Pattal, ate food, had his fill and went to sleep. After two days Laxmi came to the same merchant and requested for a room to stay in his rest house. She was shown all the rooms, but she preferred the one which Visnu was occupying. She was told that an Hon'ble saint was staying in that room, and she could take some other room. But Laxmi insisted to have the same room occupied by the previous guest. She said, if she has to stay she will stay in that very room and in no other. On being refused in her request she said: Alright, I shall stay in the Verandeh outside. She spread her beddings

there. At time, food was served to her. At this she took out a plate of gold from her bag, eat food and threw away the plate of gold? She had plenty of it. Whenever she takes food, she does it in a golden plate and after eating throws it away. Hearing about this richness of his guest, the merchant called his servants and ordered them to throw out the belongings of the previous guest and install the new pilgrim in his place.

When this programme was going on Laxmi smiled at Visnu and asked; Tell me now if the world is Real or Unreal.

By relating this anecdote I do not want to convey that materialism is the last word in Vedic Philosophy. Moreover, the anecdote I have related is not a Vedic anecdote. It conveys an idea. The underlying idea is that one cannot ignore that fact that, howsoever we may talk about the falsity (Mitya मिथ्या) of the material world is Real also.

Then, wherein lies the Truth? According to Vedic philosophy, the truth lies in the middle. The truth is that the world is both Real and Unreal. It is this what I have termed Vedic Pragmatism in the beginning of this article. It is real in sense that it does exist; we touch it, feel it and see it, it is unreal in the sense that it does not become part and parcel of our being. This idea has not been explained in Yajur Veda when it says”

ईशा वास्यम् इदं सर्वं यत् किञ्चित् जगत्यां जगत्
तेन त्यक्तेन भंजिथाः मा गृधः मस्यस्वित् धनम् ।

The Mantra says that the world is Real, but Real in the sense that you can make use of it as you use a means, an instrument. Enjoy it but not be enjoyed by it, after having got the best of it, throw it away as nothing in it permanently belongs to you—not even you body. In short, it means: Have it and don't have it; it may belong to you but you may not belong to it. The world is 'सत्' and 'असत्' is the central idea of Vedic Thought and Culture.

The question is: How can world be both 'सत्' (Real) and 'असत्' (Unreal)? The idea is beautifully explained by another anecdote:

During Middle ages there was an Institution of Knight. Knights use to go on expedition to Jerusalem to take possession of it and if need be to fight for it. On the way, they used to fight with other knights of another order but with the same mission. The story goes that two knights were coming from opposite directions. On the way they came across a shield which was of gold on the one side and silver on the other side. Knights must have an excuse to enter into a fight. The one coming from the east said that, the shield was made of gold; the other one coming from the west said that it was made of silver. On this issue they unshielded their sabres and started fighting. In the meantime happened to come a citizen and seeing both the knights fighting asked them the reason of the fight. When explained the reason he made both of them to turn their sides, and the one who had said, it was of gold saw that it was of silver on the other side, and same happened with the other knight. Thus they realised that the shield had Two sides. It was of gold on one side and of silver on the other side.

The same principle holds good with the problem of Reality and non-Reality. Just like the shield mentioned above, the world is Real as well as Non-Real, what in the sense that is Material, non-real in the sense that it is Spiritual also.

But the question arises. If the world is both Real and Non-Real, what it is in the beginning? Real or unreal. Raising this question the Upanisad says: 'सत् वै सौम्य इदं अग्रे आसीत्'—Oh, my dear, in the beginning only Reality existed, why? Again, the Upanisad answers: 'कथं वै असत् सत् जायेत्'? If non-existence was in the beginning and existence came later on, how could existence originate from Non-existence, for nothing can originate from Non-existence. Non-existence is non-existence. It does not exist at all. Only existence has the potentiality of creating something; so existence 'सत् एव' —

alone existed in the beginnings of creation.

Again the question arises: What is the Nature — ‘सत्’ — or of Existence? If the existence is limited. Does it have a form. If limited, then with what is it limited. The question will go on and on and will never end. Hence, we have to admit that the original existence is unlimited. Similarly, if the existence has a form, who gave it a form. The question will still persist. Thus question will also go on and on and will never end. In logic this argumentation is called *ad infinitum* or ‘अनवस्था दोष’. To get out of this complex position we have to accept a position that the nature of existence is limitless and formless. This has been described in Upanisads as:

स पर्यगात् शुक्लं अकायं अवर्णं शुद्धं अपापविद्धं कविः मनोषीः परिभूः
स्वयं भूः.....

In this description the world ‘स्वयं भूः’ is most important. It means that the original existence is self existence—It is uncaused cause, it has no cause, it is self-existent. In this also were a cause, then we land ourselves in *an infinitum*. We have to halt ourselves at a point where existence becomes self-existent. Thus the Veda, the Upanisads. The Darshans call Brahma — ‘ब्रह्म’. What is Brahma? Brahma is an entity which is a cause of the universe but which to himself has no cause; He is ‘परिभूः स्वयंभूः’ — It has no Cause, because it is by Itself Cause of Everything.

In this discourse we have seen that the Vedic philosophy accepting matter as a Reality is still not matter-dominated, but is God dominated as it regards world and material objects ultimately to end in nothing. So, the final question crops up—How to live and how to Act? Shall we live as Sanyasins having no interest in the objects of the world as Budha, Mahavir and their Saints did. Shall we have no interest in the world as the world, in the end, is going to be Nothing for us. To this the Gita replies:

कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म स्वभावजैः प्रकृतिजैः गुणैः ।

Your nature will irresistably make you do, to Act.

However you may wish to renounce the world and its objects, you cannot but Act to surround yourself with the perishable objects of the world. Man is so made from his every Nature. How many there are who knowing the ephemeral nature of the world give it up. When we go to the cremation ground, the reality of nothingness of the world dawns upon us, but the very next moment we act as if the world is eternal. This is Nature.

Is the world 'माया' or non-reality is an external question. Johnson and Hegel were close friends and used to go on walk in the morning together. During discussion Hegel said that the world of Matter is an Unreality or false. Johnson said that the world of matter was a patent Reality. When the discussion got hot up. Johnson demonstrating his point hit Hegel on the head with his stick. Hegel jumped off and was angry with his friend. Johnson retorted: Why be angry—the stick is a non-reality. You are a non-reality and the hurt is a non-reality. Why do you regard non-reality as a reality.

But Vedic philosophers have designed a way of life which they called 'त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः' Live in the world, enjoy everything of the world, but enjoying live as if you don't live in it— 'पद्मपत्रं इव अम्भसा'—Just as the lotus leaf floats in a pond of water—fresh or stale. This is Vedic terminology, is called— 'निष्काम कर्म'—selfless Action 'त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा'—In this manner we shall have a healthy combination of 'सत्' and 'असत्'—Reality and Non-reality—which is the essence of Vedic Philosophy. In this philosophy, Johnson, Hegel and Vedic Thought come close to one another.

Prajapati

Many scholars of the Vedic lore will readily agree that the seers of the Rgvedic period while praising various natural phenomena as anthropomorphic deities, did not lose sight of

the unity nature and the unity of the source of those natural powers though such unitary principle was not as tangible as its different manifestation. They had a faint glimpse, through the deity they praised, to the unitary principle, which made them, unconsciously, to extoll him as the sole and greatest deity and “the tendency towards extolling a god as the greatest and highest gradually brought-forth the conception of a Supreme Lord of all beings (Prajapati), not by a process of conscious generalisation, but as a necessary stage of development of the mind, able to imagine a deity as the repository of the highest moral and physical power, though its direct manifestation cannot be perceived. Thus the epithet prajapati or the lord of beings, which was originally an epithet for other deities, came to be reconised as a separate deities, the highest and the greatest.”

Recording this culmination of monotheism, the Seer Prajapatya declared. “In the beginning rose Hiranyagraba, born only Lord of all created beings. He fixed and holdeth up this earth and heaven. What god shall we our oblations? “Giver of vital breath of power and vigour, he whose commandments all the gods acknowledge: The Lord of death, whose shade is life immortal. “Who by his grandeur hath become Sole Ruler of all the moving world that breathes and slumbers. “What time the mighty waters came, containing the Universal germ, producing Agni.” Thence sprang the gods’ one Spirit into being “He , in his might, surveyed the floods, containing producing force and generating worship. “He is the God of gods, and none beside Him. “He who brought forth the great and lucid waters. “Prajapati! thou only comprehendeth all these created things and none beside thee.”

This one later hymn in the Rgveda is devoted to celebrate Prajapati as the Supreme God. But this highest status was recognised and regularly maintained during the period of Yajurveda and Brahaman. In Upanisadic times, the emergence of the concept of Brahaman—the all inclusive Absolute—

made him to occupy a subordinate position.

The central theme of this paper is to establish that Prajapati, originally was an anthropomorphic representation of “Manas” (the Mind) referred to in RV.10.129.4, which was responsible for the transition of the ‘asat’ indistinct existence—into ‘sat’—distinct existence, through the power of Tapas or fervour, imparting the process of natural evolution, portrayed in the cited hymn, the character of creation.

To prove that the ‘manas’ is the basis of Prajapati’s personality, it is necessary to ascertain the context in which it is mentioned in the Rgveda. The most sublime hymn, wherein the term “Manas” occurs, is purely philosophical, free from mythological or sacrificial associations, and reveals a very deep intuitive insight into the state before creation, which was influenced the later philosophical thought in India. It reads:—

“Then was not non-existent or existent. There was no realm of air, no sky beyond it. What covered in, and where? and what gave shelter?

“Was water there, unfathomed depth of water?

“Death was not then, nor was there aught immortal. No sign was there, the day’s and night’s divider.

“That one thing breathless breathed by its own nature: apart from it was nothing whatsoever.

Darkness there was at first concealed in darkness this All was indiscriminated chaos. All that existed then was void and formless: by the great power of Warmth was born That Unit.

“Thereafter rose Desire in the beginning, Desire the primal seed and germ of Spirit (Mind), Sages who searched with their heart’s thought discovered the existent’s Kinship in the non-existent.”

Quoting the first words of this hymn, the Sataatha Brahmana comments:—

“Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was, as it were neither non-existent nor existent, in the beginning this (universe) indeed as it were existed and did not exist: there was when only that Mind. Wherefore it has been said by the Rsi (Rgveda: 10.129) “There was then neither the non-existent nor the Existent”, for Mind was at it were, neither existent nor-nor-existent.

“This Mind when created, wished to become manifest—more substantial: it sought after a self (body). It practised austerity, it acquired consistency.”

This passage expressing the implication of the Rgvedic hymn, asserts that the causal state of the universe was indiscriminated. This unmanifest entity was the same as Mind, which was created and hence was not the starting point. It is the fervent will of the mind that brings forth the defied, tangible existence.

Identifying this indiscriminate spiritual entity with Prana and Prajapati, Satapatha Brahmana further states:—

“Verily in the beginning, there was here the non-existent. As to this they say ‘what was that non-existent?’ The Rsis assuredly it is they that were the non-existent. As to this they say: ‘Who were those Rsis?’ The Rsis, doubtless were the vital airs (Pranas), inasmuch as before (the existence of) this universe, they desiring it wore themselves out (ris) with toil and austerity. Therefore, they are called Rsis. They said surely being thus we shall not be able to generate, let us make the seven persons one Person. That one Person became Prajapati.” At Sat. Br. 7.4.1. the golden form of Prajapati is said to be the Pranas.

Delineating the course of further creation, in the same chapter the sage states that this Person Prajapati desired “May I be more than one, May I be reproduced.” He toiled and practised austerity. He created first of all the Brahman the triple science (three Vedas). It became to him a foundation. He created the waters out of Vak (speech) for speech belonged to him

(Prajapati). The waters pervaded (ap) everything, therefore they are called “apah”—waters. He desired “May I be reproduced from these waters. He entered the water with that triple science. Thence arose an egg. He touched it “let it exist and multiply.” From the empyo inside, was created the Agni. In similar way, i.e. desiring, toiling and practising austerity, he created the earth out of the foam of the waters. Then he created clay, mud, saline soil, sand, rock, gold, plants and trees: therewith he clothed the earth. For further creation he entered into union with the earth, in the form of Agni. Thence an egg arose. From the embryo within, Vayu (the wind) was created. In similar manner the Sun, Moon and Stars were created, this gave rise to directions and quarters.

Having created these worlds, he desired “May I create such creatures as will be mine.” By his mind he entered into union with speech and created eight vasus, whom he placed on the earth. In a similar fashion eleven Rudras were created and placed in the air, then twelve Adityas were created and were placed in the sky. The all-gods, who were created lateron, were placed in the quarters. It is further stated that Prajapati having created these worlds, was firmly established on the earth. For him these plants were ripened into food. He ate that food and became pregnant. From the upper vital airs, he created the gods, and from the lower vital airs the mortal creatures.

In whatever may he created thereafter, but indeed it was Prajapati who created everything here whatsoever exists. The idea that it is Prajapati who creates and is created continuously even now and for ever, is found in Yajurveda also.

A close security of the process of creation of Prajapati, narrated above, reveals that desire being his very soul, he goes on desiring and creating. Whenever, he feels exhausted after some creation, he makes himself fresh and ready for further creation, by the power of austerity. Austerity, thus, is the source of his unlimited strength for creation.

A remarkable feature in the process of his creation is that first of all he creates the three Vedas, i.e. Vak—the goddess of speech. She is stated to be only second to him. With the help of this Vak he creates water, earth, wind, fire, the heavenly bodies, the quarters, gods, demons, men, plants and animals and does not stop there.

Thus speech always remains in the middle of the mind and creation e.g. “He uttered *bhuh* and created the earth”, etc. This strikingly corresponds to the statements in the Bible and also to the concept of “Logos” in the Greek Philosophy.

This relationship of Prajapati with his own creation—(daughter)—speech—for further creation is hinted at in Rgveda. It gave rise to a myth that Prajapati became enamoured of his daughter Usas. She transformed herself into a gazelle, and he became the male deer. Rudra aimed his arrow at him and pierced him. It is referred to in the Brahmanas also.

At one place, Prajapati is stated to have created Death above mortal beings, as their consumer. Hence his one-half was mortal and the other half immortal. His five forms, viz. the hair on the face, the skin, the flesh, the bone and the marrow are mortal, whereas the mind, the voice, the vital air, the eye and the ear are immortal. Here he is identified with Agni.

At Sata. Br. 11-5-8 it is said that verily in the beginning that (universe) was Prajapati. He desired to reproduce himself. He practised austerities and created the three worlds, the earth, the middle region and the heaven, out of them further he created the fire, air and the Sun, from them he created the three Vedas, which generated *bhuh*, *bhuvah* and *svah*. At Saka. Br. 12.6.1 Prajapati is identified with Soma and Yajna and at 2.4.3. and 6.2.3 he is said to be the first sacrificer. At Sata. Br. 12.8.2. he is said to have created the Sacrifice, and on performing the Sautramani sacrifice, to have regained his fulness and vigour. At Sata. Br. 14.8.8.4 Prajapati is identified

with the heart (Hridayam), which is the Brahman and all this (Universe).

The employment of the word “kah”—“who?” in the refrain of the first nine Mantras of R.V. 10.121, later made it Prajapati’s regular name. We find its mention in Maitr. Samhita: 3.12, Taitt. Sam. 1.7.5 and Sata. Br. 11.5.4.

It is evident that Sata. Br. developed the idea of Prajapati, which was in its nascent state in Yajurveda and Rgveda. Yajurveda’s 23rd Adhyaya refers to the Hiranyagarbha, i.e. Prajapati and identifies him with the horse of Asvamedha Sacrifice.

In Atharvaveda, Brahman, Viraj, Skambha Prana, Rohita (the Sun), Kama, Kala etc. are simply referred to as the cause of the universe, but never developed. At Atharvaveda 8-9.10, Viraj is extolled as the creator even of the Brahman and of the universe and A.V.9.10.24 states that the Viraj is the speech, earth atmosphere, Prajapati and all gods.

Thus, the concept of Prajapati, starting in Rgveda as a psychological category, was rightly developed stage by stage mainly in the Sata. Br. and casually in Ait. Br. and its spiritual and cosmogonical implications were fairly worked out, still it was invariably associated with sacrificial overtones during the Brahmana period e.g. the idea, that Prajapati is constituted of sixteen parts, referred to at yajurveda; 8.36, receives sacrificial interpretation at Sata. Br., but later it assumes psychological character in Chandogya Upanisad and Pra. Up. where these sixteen parts are said to be within the later concept of astral body consisting of sixteen parts, rests.

During the Upanisadic times, the concept of Prajapati again was seen in its proper perspective i.e. in its spiritual and psychological character. Brh Up. 1.4 states: “This (universe) was only Atman, who became corporeal and saw nothing apart from himself. He, then uttered “I am” (ahamasmi). “Aham”, therefore, became his name. He was afraid, for a person,

when aslone, fears. He reflected:— ‘there is nothing beside me, of what am I afraid?’ Then his fear vanished. From what could be hear? for indeed, fear arises from the second. He did not feel delighted, for a person when along does not feel delighted. He desired for a second. He became as big as man and woman in embrace. He divided himself into two, then husband and wife came into being.”

Here it can be clearly discerned that in the unity of the Self, in the beginning, the “aham” or ego emerges, together with the sense of non-ego in the front of it, for in the absence of the “other”, there can be no ego. This duality is created in the non-dual Self by some inherent mystic power. The ego feels itself as a separate entity, as the “subject” set over against the “object”, and consequently fear arises in him, which vanishes on his reflection over his own real nature, i.e. unity, for, indeed fear springs from the second. But alone he felt lack of joy and intensely felt the need of a second from whom he could derive pleasure. As a result he was divided into a pair of husband and wife.

This analysis of “aham”, from psychological point of view reveals that fear and a sense of incompleteness are its inherent ingredients, and desire or will is the “raison detre” of its growth.

The “Manas” of the R.V. (the “Aham” of the Brh. Up.) is said to be create and hence is not the starting point of the universe, though it is its very basis. The universe and ego concomitants, and the one can not be conceived without the other. In fact subject-object relationship is the texture which makes the universe. But the starting point of the universe is the Absolute in which both of them are transcended and resolved. This supreme truth is expounded by Prajapati himself to Indra at Cha. Up. 8.7-14. Virochana the leader of asuras who also had gone to him with Indra for the purpose of receiving instruction about the “Atman”, on knowing know the truth, because he could not transcend the body-idea and

popagated the cult that the body is "Atman."

Thus Prajapati is essentially personification of Mind. It is Mind that desires and strives and brings about the objective universe, dividing itself as seer and seen. The ego and the universe both are essentially thoughts that arise out of the Absolute wherein their subjectivity and objectivity disappear as both are transcended and resolved.

Prayajas and Anuyajas

The fore and after offerings are made in the sacrifice. In connection with the origin of these offerings to Agni, the KB (1.2) tells us the following myth : The gods and the demons were in conflict over these worlds. Agni departed from them and entered the seasons. Then the gods killed the demons. They attempted to seek Agni. Yama and Varuna saw him. The gods invited him and offered him to choose a boon. Agni demanded that the fore offerings and after offerings, the ghee of the waters and the male of the plants should be offered to him. The gods agreed. They offered him these oblations and the ghee in the sacrifice belongs to him.

In the Soma sacrifices when Soma is brought to the sacrificial chamber the offering of reception takes place. It is called *atithyahavih* Ordinarily when a king or a respectable person (arhat) comes as a guest the house-holder in his honour kills an ox or cow which miscarries. When Soma is brought home, Agni is enkindled in his honour, which is equal to his being killed. Thus Agni is the Victim of the gods (AB. 1.15). The *Atithyahavih* is the head of the sacrifice and *Upasad* offerings are the neck. They are performed on the same sacrificial equipments; for the head and neck are the same. It is to be noted that in giving the simile the author fancies the Yajna as a Purusa (man). The different rites establish the existence of the Yajnapurusa.

The *Upasad* offerings form the arrow of the gods. The arrow

being the most common weapon, its various components were vividly identified with the different deities. Thus the point of the arrow is Agni. Its socket is Soma. Its shaft is Visnu and feathers, Varuna. The gods discharged this arrow using the ghrta (Ghee) as a bow. With this bow the gods kept on piercing. Therefore the *ghrta* is oblation.

The author of the Brahmana considers that the sacrifice is a weapon like an arrow in the hands of the gods. It is to be discharged against the enemies, the Asuras.

The sacrifice is a weapon for the conquest of the worlds and the universe. The gods conquered the three worlds and the four quarters by means of the Abhijit and Visvajit sacrifices respectively. They conquered first by means of the Abhijit and whatever was remaining clung on. They won it by means of the Visvajit. The sacrifice is expression of Agni and his forms. Thus Abhijit is Agni and Visvajit is Indra. Agni conquered all this universe and Indra conquered all this wholly (KB 24.1).

A sacrifice on the new moon and full moon day is usual sacrifice. Twice a month at the beginning and in the middle of the month on these two days the sacrifices were performed. These sacrifices symbolised the killing of Vrtraby Indra. This killing of Vrtra is further considered to be the symbol of the pressing of Soma. Soma is crushed, so is Vrtra killed. The crushing of Soma is further represented by the waning and waxing of the moon. Thus Soma becomes the moon. The offerings are given to the Agni and Soma on this occasion. Agni and Soma were within Vrtra; therefore Indra could not hurl his bolt against him. They were tempted to come out of Vrtra, when the offerings were made to them (KB 3. 6, 15. 2). The AB (2.3) tells us that by means of Agni and Soma, Indra killed Vrtra. Then they asked him for the grant of a boon. Indra agreed to this. They chose a boon of an offering on the pressing day in the sacrifices of new and full moon.

Thus the Darsapurnamasa sacrifice is a sacrifice to Agni and Soma. The moon is Soma and Agni is the constant deity in the sacrifice. Some as the moon is the most prominent deity in this sacrifice. As Agni and Soma covered the entire month, they are probably called as within Vrtra. By crushing the Soma plant, Vrtra is uncovered i.e. killed. (Vrtra is one who covers).

Agnihotra is offered twice every day. Darsapurnamasa sacrifices are offered half monthly. Now we turn to the yearly sacrifice. It is the Abhiplava of six days. These six days are:— *jyotis, go, ayas, go, ayus* and *jyotis*. The year is the revolving wheel of the gods. That is the immortality (*amrtatva*). The wheel of the time revolving year after year bringing about the endlessness of the time gives as an idea of constancy of the wheel of the time, i.e. year, seasons, months and days. This constant recurrence of the wheel of the gods is the immortality.

In this sacrifice there is proper food of six kinds, viz. wild animals, domesticated animals, plants, trees, that which grows in water and that which swims. The sacrificers offer twice to *jyotis*, and they obtain double portion of the proper food in the form of the wild and domesticated animals. They offer twice to *go*, and they secure plants and trees. They offer twice to *ayus* to get the life floating and swimming in the waters. Thus the sacrificers obtain six-fold proper food. By offering the six-fold offerings, the sacrificers mount on the wheel of the year, the chariot of the gods. Mounted on this, the gods and the sacrificers move round all worlds—the world of the gods, of the Pitrs, of the living, of Agni, without the waters, of Vayu established in the *rta*, of Indra the unconquerable, of Varuna, over the sky, of death, the highest in the sky, of the Brahman, the welkin the most real of the worlds, the vault. Thus the gods and the sacrificers move round the worlds of the Devas, Pitrs, Bhutas (living beings), Agni, Vayu, Indra, Varuna, Mrtyu and Brahman. The Abhiplava sacrifice enables the sacrificer to fly to the worlds

of the gods and men and on the top of all these to the highest world of the Brahman. This last is the most real of the worlds and is the topmost (KB 20.1). Mounting on the wheel of the year the sacrificer can reach to the topmost world of the Brahman, as to the world of the other deities. This is the immortality (*amrtatva*). He passes over the death and becomes ageless.

It is to be noted that the performance of the sacrifice such as Abhiplava secures the immortality to the sacrificer. The sacrifice consists of the offerings of Soma, animals and cooked food to the various deities. The state of non-dying (*amrtatva*), becoming free from the jaws of death is the immortality. It affords immense power to see all the world of the deities and of the Brahman. The idea of existence of the worlds of the deities round about this earth and of the gradation in the height of the worlds form the prominent aspect of the doctrine of sacrifice in the Brahmanas.

In these different worlds there dwell thirty-three deities who depend on the libations of Soma. These are the following : eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas., Indra and Prajapati. Soma seers think that these thirty-three deities share the animal offerings in the sacrifice. Other teachers consider that Indra and Agni are the deities; for all deities are Indra and Agni. Some theologians maintain however that the victim offered is for Agni and *purodasa* is for Indra. Ksusetaki's opinion is that the victim is for Agni only (KB 12.6).

In some sacrifices the offerings to Agni are made with the formula (mantra), "Oh Agni, enjoy the oblations". This formula has six syllables. The human body has six members and is six-fold. The mantra is thus the symbol of the body which is the residence of the self. When a sacrificer offers oblations with this mantra he sacrifices his self as it were with his self. He ransoms his self and becomes free from the debt. The mantra redeems his self from any debt and he becomes pure. This is the mantra of Avatsara Prasravana.

The idea contained in this view is that by the recitation of the mantra, the sacrificer becomes free from debt and his self offers himself as the oblation (KB 13.3). This idea is similar to one found in the Bhagavadgita.

Priesthood

The priests occupied an important position both in Rgvedic sacrifices and the Haoma Yasna. The words "Athravan" (Av.) and "Atharvan" (skt.) support their presence at both the places. In Rgveda we come across the evolution of priesthood so far as their number and names, their duties and their choice etc. is concerned; in Avestan scriptures we hardly find such details. Though Soma sacrifice of the Rgveda and the Haoma Yasna of Avesta are more or less the same pattern of ritual, with a little variation in details, still the number of priests referred to in the scriptures varies to a great extent. In Rgveda, we find two sections of priests. In the very opening verse of Rgveda we find Agni being called as Purohita and Hota. (*Agnim ile purohitam yajnasya devam rtvijam/ Hotaram ratnadhatamam// RV. I.1.1*). Purohita, as we traditionally understand, indicated perhaps the family except that he came from a Brahmin priestly family attached to another family and that he was conversant with the domestic rites and performances.

Moreover, in Rgveda, we do not find the Purohita being chosen, because there did not arise the question of his choice. On the contrary Hota was to be chosen for special occasions (*Hotaram tva urnimahe/(Rv.X.21.1; Hota Vrto-Rv.X.52.1)*) and he was to be the most worthy Hota (*ni no hota varenyah/Rv.I.26.2; pratno Hota varenyah/Rv.II.7.6*) And this choice necessarily lay on the priest who was experienced and perfectly conversant with the special type of performances such as the soma sacrifice of Rgveda or what have been called in later times as Srauta sacrifices. The domestic rites were few, limited and perhaps finally established in the Aryan community

and thus there was no scope for the development in the ritual and eventually for the development of the domestic priesthood. Purohita continue throughouts as Purohota only without any colleague or assistant. But the newly established soma sacrifice was evolving gradually and was being enlarged from generation to generation. This required the growth in the number of priests too. And starting from Hota as the solitary ancient priest at Rgvedic sacrifice, we come across a stage in Rgveda itself where not less than twelve priests have been referred to in one place (*Adhvaryabhih pancabhih sapta viprah*—Rv. III.7.7).

Out of these, seven priests have been clearly named in Rgveda (*tavagne hotram tava potram rtviyam tava nestram tvam agnidrtayatah/ tava prasastram tvam adhvaryasi brahma casi grhapatis ca no dame*//Rv. II.1.2; X.91.100. Perhaps the number “seven” was equally favourite and auspicious with the Rgvedic ideology as with number ‘three’. One has to be very careful while discussing about these priests and has to confine the discussion to Rgveda only. Because in later Brahmanic period, we find the number of priests at the soma sacrifice raised to sixteen. Some priests have been newly added to the old priests have been altered or divided. For example, Udgata has not been included in the above list even though he is referred to once only in Rgveda. (*Udgateva sakune sama gayasi*/ Rv. II.43.2). The same is the case with gravagrabha (*Hotadhvaryurvaya agnimindho gravagrabha uta samsta suviprah*/... Rv. I. 162.5). Unneta, Acchavak, Subrahmanya etc. of the Brahmanic sacrifice are not noticed at all in Rgveda. The fixed number of priests as “seven” (*sapta hotrbhih*—RV. III.10.4; *sapta hotrn*— Rv. X.35.10, 61.1 etc. *sapta jamayah*-Rv. IX.10.7; 77.8) and their mention by names perhaps indicates that those were the “recognised” priests, sanctioned by usage; other priests are minor and optional. One more noteworthy fact is that, Purohita who must have been present at every auspicious ritual at his host’s house is also not included in the list. He might be the

eight non-recognised priest. In fact, Pota is referred to as eighth priest in one passage (*manusvad daivyam asiamam pota visvam tadinvati-Rv. II.5.2*).

Such development in the priesthood is not noticed in Avesta. At present we trace only two priests at Haoma Yasna. And from these two priests, viz. Zoota and Rathwi, Dr. Haug has pointed out that the Rgvedic Aryans and Avestan Iraninans must have separated from each other at an earlier stage when the Rgvedic ritual had only two priests in the beginning (*Ait. Br. Intro.*, p. 13). At another place, the same scholar has shown that four priests of Avesta correspond with their Rgvedic colleagues in offices and duties. He maintains that (1) Zaota, (2) Rathwi, (3) Sraoshvareza and (4) Atarevakhsho are the Avestan equivalents of (1) Hota, (2) Adhvarya, (3) Pratiprasthata and (4) Agnidhra of the Rgvedic sacrifice. (*Cf. Essays on Parsees*", p. 237).

But the identification of the Rgvedic and Avestan priesthood does not end here only. The closer investigation of the Avestan scriptures indicates to use that they were acquainted with many more priests whose corresponding colleagues we find in Rgveda. In vendidad Fargard V.57 we find eight angels being mentioned which include the names of two existing priests. The names of these spirits or angels are as follows. (*Cf. Ency. of Religion and Ethics. Vol. X, p. 220; History of Zoroastrianism—Dhalia, p. 254*).

(1) Zaotar, (2) Havanam, (3) Atarevakhsha, (4) Fraberetar, (5) Aberetar, (6) Asnatar, (7) Rathwiskare, (8) Sraoshavarez.

Let us compare the duties of these priests and compare them with Rgvedic priests.

Properties, Law of

The Rv., gives us various terms for properties of different classes. 'Rayi is the most common word for wealth. Wealth is also heard of in the shape of heroes (vira), good sons

("rayim rasi viravantam"), horses ("pra vo rayim yuktasvam bharadhvam raya ese' vase...), camels, dogs and elephants (iv, 4, 1 "rajevamavan inhens."), slaves and slave-girls (1,92,7; vi, 1,5), bipeds and quadrupeds (dvipacchatuspedasmakam....). Besides we hear of wealth in terms of 'rekna' (yad-rekna), hiranya-r-abhi (V. 60.4), ratnadheyani, i.e. jewels and ornaments like necklaces and earrings (chitrah and aujibhi-s-tanusu....virukmatah).

Immoveable property like fertile land (urvara and Ksetra), tanks, wells and houses, places (dhruve sadasyuttame), carts, chariots, boats and ships, referred to before and painted gift cars (hiranyavarnam suvrtam suchakram) are also frequently referred to in the Rgveda.

In the light of modern thinkers we may review the theory of property right. According to Miraglia "property is the greatest right, the plena potestas in re". "It is a general power if not absolute power over objects and at least it comprehends the greatest number of rights including possession, acquisition, enjoyment and disposition." We have already discussed the communal and individual ownership in the Rgveda. The RV draws our attention to family and village-ownership as well. (Sahasradagramani-r-ma risan-Manuh....and daksinavan prathamohuta eti daksinavan-gramani-r-gram-eti....). Collective or Communal ownership in the initial stage, as evidenced by common pasture which the Rgvedic arya's cared for at their pastoral stage was subsequently followed by individual ownership of those things which they needed most for the sustenance of physical life. That is why they recognised ownership in all their moveable necessities of life, as evidenced by the re ("Suro va suram vanate sarirai-s-tanurueha tarusi yat-krnvaite/loke va gosu tanaye yad-apsu vi krandasi urvarasu vravaita//") which refers to keen competition for seed, offspring, waters, kine and cornalids between two opposite hosts.

We should remember in this connection how the vedic Rsis

like Prajapati Paramesthin and the another of the Brh. Upa. conceived of evolution “from the simple through the complex to the unified harmony.” Miraglia points out: “At first the human community was one in which the individual was only a part and instrument; then he developed concrete individuality, trying to free himself from society, and tends to reach a rational harmony between his particular determination and the social.” Thus property became first collective then individual and last takes its place in society and State. The Vedic Aryans were initially pastoral and hence interested to common pasture land (“para me yanti dhitayo gavo na gavyuti-r-anu icohantirurucha. ksasam”). Gradually they become interested in agriculture and craved for possession of land. They spent their wealth and energy for agrarian development by better methods of agriculture, ploughing and fertilising land for higher production. The possession is recognised as a mode of the right of one’s ownership in the Vedic India. The Vedic Aryans, of course, recognised the right of transfer by sale, gift or otherwise. *Gift (daksina)* is highly enlogised in the Rv. (x. 107.5). The Vedic Rsi conceived of Agni as the owner of all wealth from whom the worshippers received as a matter of gift. (Purunyague purudha tvaya vasuni rajan-vasuta te asyam/puruni hi tve puruvara santyagne vasu vidhate rajni tve//”). Thus acquisition is at the root of the ownership of the property, clearly expressed in Gautam’s Dharma-sutra which indicates different sources of the right of ownership, viz, inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure of unclaimed property and finding. (“Svam i rktha-kraya-samvibhaga-pari-grahadhigamesu”). He adds further that acceptance of presents, conquests and gains by trade or labour are the channels of ownership in cases of brahmanas, ksatriyas and vaisyas or sudras respectively. (Brahmanasyadhikam lavdham ksatriyasya vijitam nirvistam vaisya-sudrayoh). ‘sva’ means property’, what belongs to a person and ‘svami’ means the owner. It may be noted here that the original methods of acquisition are ‘appropriation’, ‘accession’, confusion’ and

'prescription' and the secondary ones are rktha, kraya etc. as noted above. In the Rgvedic period the community or tribal people as a whole become the owner of whether they had acquired and next the father of a patriarchal society might have become the owner. The ownership went thus to an individual only as head of a thing as being the owner of individual property, as evidenced by (de rc). Which extract that Kaksivan gave over so his father whatever he had received as gifts from Savanaya, the father, however, could give any of his sons property during his lifetime.

The law relating to land-tenure in the Vedic age is difficult to determine. The RV refers repeatedly to agriculture (krsi) and ploughing or ploughlands. The authors of the Vedic Index opine that "The cultivation of the soil was no doubt known to the Indians before they separated from the Iranians, as is indicated by the identity of the expressions yavam krs and sasya in the Rgveda with yao karesh and hahya in the Avesta, referring to the ploughing in of the seed and to the grain which resulted. But it is not without significance that the expressions for ploughing occur mainly in the first and tenth books of the Rgveda and only rarely in the so-called 'family' books (ii-vii). In the Atharvaveda Prthi Vainya is credited with the origination of ploughing and even in the Rgveda the Asvins are spoken of as concerned with the sowing of grain by means of the plough. "In the later Samhitas and the Brahmanas ploughing is repeatedly referred to." The economic importance of the plough land, called nrvara or ksetra was recognised even in the Rgvedic society, as referred to above. The rc mentions intensive cultivation by means of irrigation. The measurement of the fields in the rc (1.110.5) and the reference of Apata to her father's field as a personal possession lead us to infer that land became an individual property even from the period of the Rgveda. "There is no trace in Vedic literature of communal property in the sense of ownership by a community of any sort, nor is there mention of communal cultivation." The Chand. Upa. refers clearly to fields and houses (ayatanani)

as individual property. In the SB the gift of land to the preists as fee was condemned and hence land was not even then considered as a property to be parted with. There is little evidence to prove that the king was by the Vedic period regarded as Land-owner. The SB mentions the right of the Ksatriya with the consent of the clan to apportion land. Property or wealth in connection with 'yoga' (i.e., 'apraptasya prapane'=gain of something not yet received) and 'Ksema' (i.e., praptasya rekksane=protection of what is gained) is also referred to in the rc ("pahi ksema uta yoge"), addressed to Vastopati. A large number of intermediate owners from the sovereign (sarva bhauma) upto the Vaisya, the actual tiller of the soil are also recognised in the Vedas. Ownership of kingdoms and villages is prayed for in the TS. The post of gramani' at the disposal of the king was not possibly hereditary at the initial stage and he had some rights over certain properties. The Mimamsa Sutra shows that the overlord has no higher right than to recover revenue. The TS mentions one of the 'ratnins' as a collector of revenue.

The Vedic literature refers to different modes of acquisition of properties: (i) deksina, (ii) gain in war (Rv. X.107, 7-11), (iii) presents at marriage, (iv) purchase, (v) inheritance, (vi) labour (vii) gambling and (viii) races (AB.ii,25). Treasurer-troves (nidhi) are mentioned in the Rgveda (biranyasyeva kalasam).

The rc (sanat-ksetram sakhibhih) refers to the division of land into well-defined plots even in the Rgvedic age. Elsewhere (ksattram-iva vi mamu-e-tejanena etam param-rbhavo jehamanam) we find that lands were measured and divided into plots and given to families for cultivation. Perhaps the ksatriyas who had acquired land had mastery over it and their chief could give plots of land with the consent of his clansmen. Ksatriya was looked upon as the ultimate owner of the land, as in the AB. Brahmano rajayo vaisyo niksipyamanah yatriyam devayajanam yaochat) and he could remove a vaisya

without cause from his land. The SB confirms this view: "Yama hath given the settlement on earth to this sacrificer...the Fathers have prepared this place for him, the Yama is the Ksattrra (nobility or ruling power), and the Fathers (deceased ancestors) are the clansmen and to whomsoever the chief (Ksatttriya), with the approval of the clan, grants a settlement, that settlement is properly given and in like manner does Yama, the ruling power, with the consent of the Fathers, the clan, now grant to this (sacrificer) a settlement on this earth.

The position of the king with regard to land was still by the period of the Brahmanas not clear. According to Hopkins gift of land to a priest was most probably the first indication of land transaction, but gift of land even as daksina was not approved. From the epithets 'anaysya valakrt' (tributary to another)', anaysyadyah' (to be lived on by another) and 'ayatha-kama-jeyah" (to be oppressed at will), used with reference to Vaisyas in the AB we learn of the relation of the king with his people and there is little doubt that "the people were greatly at the mercy of the nobles". Some think that the king was the land-owner and the vaisyas or cultivators tilled land with license from him, others, however, take it as a mere sign of some sort of political power of the king with no authority of land-ownership. The story of the SB, referred to above shows some sort of communal control over landed property. No outsider could be allowed to be settled even by the king without the approval of the community. To speak in a nutshell, the Vedic literature is very obscure as regards the ownership of land and even the laws of inheritance in the Dharmasutras are indistinct on the question of landed property. Even Gautama says that land can not be sold and his teachings 'nidhyabhigamo rajadhanam brahmanasya-bhirupasyabrahmano' phakhyata sasthan labhetetyeke' and 'pasu-bhumi-strinam-anatibhoga' mean only the present occupation of land without any sense of ownership.

However, Buhler translates the above passage "pasu-

bhumi—” as “animals, land and females are not lost to the owner by another’s possession”. Haradatta comments that “no long possession of animals and the rest is necessary in order to acquire the rights of ownership over them.”

Prostitute and the Public-Woman

Indications about prostitution are available from the earliest times: “The two Asvins move with Surya, as do two men stay with a (common) woman” (RV VIII. 29.8). This does not, however, indicate polyandry, for there is no mention of the woman being married to the two men. And in the case of the Asvins, Surya’s relationship with them is not of husbands and wives. This will be clear from the fact that they are the suitors, while it is Soma who is her husband: “Soma was the *vadhuyu*; the Asvins were the *varau*” (RV X. 85.9; the later sense of *vara* is not here). The words indicative of the prostitute are: *sadharani*, *hasra*, *vra*, *yati pumsacali* and *yavya*. The *sadharani* may be the courtesan like the dancer (*nrtu*); but with the epithet *yavya*, she appears to have been the prostitute: “O advancing Maruts! you have with you the *yavya sadharani* united; and you sprinkled the semen” (RV I.167.4 the *yavya sadharani* is the lighening, and the semen is rain—a fond symbol of the Vedic seers). The *hasra* is the norm for the goddess Dawn: “Like the *hasra* she discards her cloak” (Ibid., I. 124.7). The *yati*: At the rise of the sun, O Dawn! you were seen behaving towards him as with a lover; not, indeed, like a *yati*” (Ibid. VII.76.3). *Vra*: “Resplendent with rays, shw wears the fore-head mark of the sun, like the *vra* going to the *samana*” (Ibid. I.124.8). *Pumscali* is already referred to in the context of the Vratya.

R

Rainfall Process

At a very early stage of his civilised life, man recognised the importance of rainfall for his living. It is, therefore, natural that the Aryans, who settled in Punjab and adjoining area were very much concerned with the rainfall pattern of that region for domestic consumption as well as for planning their agricultural operations. The first monsoon showers brought in by the humid easterlies with the accompaniment of winds, thunder, and lightning were eagerly awaited by them as is evidenced by the picturesque descriptions in the Vedas. In course of time they began to develop their observations and these are scattered here and there in various statements not only in the Vedas, but in the *Brahmanas* and *Upanisads* as well. It is our aim to string these ideas together and present a cogent picture of the concepts of the Vedic *Rsis* on the rainfall phenomenon.

That the heat of the sun lifts the water on earth to the atmosphere, which after sometime comes down as rain was recognised by the *Rsis* at a very early stage. They conceived the rainfall process as a *yajna*, taking place in the middle region (*antariksa*) and the rain drops were supposed to impregnate the earth as a result of which life comes upon

earth. The rain God *Parjanya* (rain bearing cloud), who is closely linked with *Indra* in his main function of producing rain is described as a bull, who roars and impregnates the plants by depositing his *virya* (semen).

The 164th *sukta* of *Rgveda* contains some concepts on rainfall process. The *karisti* described in the *Taittiriya Samhita* of *Yajurveda* has many interesting statements containing the concepts of Vedic *Rsis* on the rainfall process. We shall first take up three *rks* of the *sukta* mentioned above which are relevant for our purpose. We have presented for convenience an English translation below each *rk*.

1. '*Saptardha garbhah bhuvanasya reto Visnostisthanti pradisa vidharamani; Te dhitibhirmanasa te vipascitah paribhuvah pari bhavanti visvatah*'.

The rays of the sun hold for six months* the waters capable of fertilising the earth pervading the sky and wait for performing their duty (drenching the earth with showers).

2. '*Krsnam niyanam harayassuparnah apoh vasana divamutpatani; Ta avavrtrantsadanadrtasyadidghrtena prthivi vyudyate*'.

The rays of the sun following the dark (southern) path take waters and move upwards (northwards). They turn back from the source of *rta* and drench the earth with waters.

3. '*Samanametadudakamuccaityava cahabhih;*

Bhumim parjanya jinvanti divam jinvantyagnayah.

The waters go upward and come downward in the same measure during periods (of the respective seasons). *Agni* takes the waters to heavens and *parjanya* brings them down as rain.

One of the important aspects of rainfall which struck the Vedic

seers was its occurrence during a restricted period of about two months in the same part of the year every time. To explain this seasonal occurrence, they imagined that the sun's rays absorb the water from below and a certain period is required for the rays to get fully charged with water, at the end of which they deliver the rains to the earth. This period is mentioned as about half a year or six months. The reason for the choice of six months is not immediately obvious. However, the second *rk* gives some clue. The second *rk* goes into the source of this water. The Aryans living in extreme north-west India and quite familiar with the land mass located in the north were also aware that on the southern side there was a vast oceanic region providing ample scope for absorption of water by sun's rays whenever he moves to the south. They always imagined a replica on earth of what they conceived in space. The northern side corresponds to heaven (*bhuma svarga*) and the southern side to the earth. They imagined *agni* in the *rta* form to be located in the south and always moving towards north. On the analogy of snow present in the northern latitude, they imagined *soma* to be present in the north, and always moving to the south. This is exactly what is taking place in the vertical direction, that is *soma* coming down and *agni* moving up. There is a constant confrontation between the two and the seasons are produced as a result of either of the two asserting over the other. The dark path that is referred to here is the southward position of the sun. The *rtasadana* is the abode of *rta*, that is Himalayas, near which the sun attains his northward position. That is the position whence the sun turns back his rays and retraces his path. With this background, if we examine the second *rk*, it probably suggests that warm humid air moving northwards gets deflected near the foot of the Himalayas and pours down as rain and drenches the earth. The third *rk* is fairly easy to understand since it only stresses that the heat produced on the earth due to the sun's radiation is responsible for lifting the water from the earth and storing it in the form of water vapour in the

atmosphere (*diva* should really mean atmosphere and not heaven). The same comes down later rain and drenches the earth.

The above model of the rainfall process was further improved during the *Yajurveda* period. The description of the *kariristi* in the *Taittiriya Samhita* of the *Yajurveda* contains some interesting information. We quote below the relevant portions as translated by A.B. Keith, with our modifications.

1. Thou art connected with the *maruts*, thou art the force of *maruts*; 'cleave the stream of the waters.
2. Hail (*svaha*) *Jinvaravrt*, rain produced by east wind;
Hail *Ugraravrt*, rain raining with winds;
Hail *Bhaumaravrt*, rain, thundering raining;
Hail *Tvesaravrt*, rain thundering without lighting, lightening, raining;
Hail *Purtiravrt*, rain, raining overnight;
Hail *Srutaravrt* rain, famed as raining much;
Hail *Vsiradavrt*, rain, raining while the sun shines
Hail *Bhuparavrt*, rain, thundering, lightening, raining;
3. 'O *Vasvya* gods, *Agni*, *Soma*, *surya*; O *Sarmanya* Gods, *Mitra*, *Varuna*' *Aryaman*; O *Sapiti* Gods, *Apam napct*, *Asuheman*;

Give the water, cleave the holder of the waters; from the sky, from *parjanya*, from the atmosphere, from the earth, then do ye help us with rain'.

4. 'Thou art connected with the *Maruts*, thou art the force of the *maruts*' (with these words) he puts on a black garment with a black fringe; that is the hue of rain; verily becoming of like hue he causes *parjanya* to rain. 'Stay, O *Maruts* the speeding falcon (with these words) he pushes back the west wind; verily he produces the east wind to win the rains. He makes offering to the names of the wind; the wind rules the rain; verily he has

recourse to the wind with its own share; verily it makes *parjanya krain* for him. Eight offerings he makes, the quarters are four, the intermediate quarters are four; verily from the quarters he makes the rain to move. He unites (them) on a black antelope skin; verily the makes the offering; he units within the *vedi* for accomplishment. When the *yatis* were being eaten, their heads fell away; they became *kharjuras*; their sap rose up wards, they became *hariras*; the *kartras* are connected with *some*; the offering connected with *soma* makes rain to move from the sky; in that there are *kariras* (in the sacrifice); by means of an offering which is connected with *sama* he wins the rain from the sky. With honey, he unites (them); honey is the sap of the waters and the plants; verily it rains from the waters and the plants.'

5. 'Agni causes the rain to arise, the *Maruts* lead it out when produced; when yonder the sun turns back with his rays, then he rains; becoming a hider of his abode as it were, he rains; these deities are the lords of rain; then he has recourse to with their own share; they make *parjanya* rain for him, even if he is not minded to rain yet he rains.'
6. 'Flood the earth' (with these words) he offers *varsava* plants. This is plants is that which wins rain and thereby he causes rain to fall.

It is seen from the above passages that the Aryans had categorised the rainfall of their region into eight types, *Jinvaravrt*, etc. The recognition of the appearance of the moist easterlies bringing the monsoon and the simultaneous disappearance of the westerlies is quite evident. The absorption of moisture from the oceans and the movement of moist winds northwards to give rain in their region at the time of the sun retracing his path after reaching the extreme northern position were also recognised by them. However, the most interesting thing in these passages is the elaboration of

the role of *soma* in rainfall. The *soma* that comes down aids the fall of rain from the clouds. During the *kariristi*, *karira* fruits are offered in the fire which probably produce dense smoke which goes up and mixes with the clouds above. It was the belief of the Aryans that this smoke having the property of *sama* wins the rains from the clouds. In other words, some sort of seeding of the clouds from ground is capable of producing rains because in nature, according to them, the *soma* particles from above feed the clouds and extract the rain (*cyavayati*). The *soma* feed from above produce lightening in the atmosphere which is referred to as *Indra* drinking *soma*.

The *soma* feed causing rains to fall is also told in *chandogyopanisad* in the following passage:

(We give only an English translation of the passage)

‘*Ogautama*, *Parjanya* is the *Agni*. To him wind is the fuel, the clouds constitute the smoke; the lightning is his radiance; the thunder is his ender; the roaring and thundering sounds are the sparks. In this *Agni* the devas offer the king *soma*; from that offering the rains take place.”

Rastra

At the very outset we have discussed the gradual evolution of the State through different stages of tribal organisation. It has already been pointed out that the Indo-Aryans had to organise themselves, first to conquer the indigenous people, Dasas or Dasyus, in a way differentiated from their original tribal stage. Under pressure of conquest the tribal people had to undergo the process of distintegration and combination and in course of time they had to change their mode of nomadic life for settling in some territories and to take to agriculture and industry. Their attachment to land led to the formation of grama which has been treated before. Their sentiment of love for the territory where they built their huts and started a

new life of agriculture or industries roused a spirit of political consciousness. Thus arose the first State called *rastra* in the Rv. “Mama dvita rastram Ksattriyasya...and “yuvo rastram Vrhadinvati dyauh” etc.). At the initial stage the Sapta-sindhu region had a large number of small States or *rastras* (cf. Muir, Sans. Texts Series). Though the *rastra* was called after a particular tribe, yet it might not have contained the people of a particular tribe. H.N. Sinha observes rightly: “But the rise of the *rastra*, as a political and territorial organisation, on the ruins of distinegrating tribal organisation, was due to the emergence of the *Grama* or village, as its integral part. Just as it is difficult to ascertain whether a *Rastra* did or did not contain a homogenous *Jana* or tribe, so it is difficult to assert whether a *Grama* “contained the whole of the *Vis*, or a part of a *Vis* or parts of several *Visas*.”

The ‘*Grama*’ is referred to in the Rv. (Agne....asi gramesvavita and “yasyasvasah pradisi yasya gavo yasya grama....”). Sayana has explained it as the dwelling-place of the people yasya gavo yasya grama....”). Sayana has explained it as the dwelling-place of the people (jananivasa-sthanesu). It should be noted that here ‘*grama*’ means the dwelling place of the people in general, without any specific reference to any clan or *visa*. So it may not be unlikely that *grama* might have originally contained people of a single clan but gradually it was used to signify even in the early Vedic age the habitation of people of various clans and of different pursuits of life. Even one could take to various occupations, as evidenced by the rc (“viprah as uchyate bhisag-raksoha mi vachatanah”) which means that a learned Brahmana is called a physician, destroyer of diseases. The term ‘*grama*’ has been used in the sense of a company of troops in Rv. (“sa gramebhih samita—“gramebhih Marut-sanghah”) and in Rc “...Bharatah... gavyan-gramah...”, ‘Bharatanam sanghah’ according to Sayana). The village supplied companies of troops and so was called ‘*grama*’ and their chief was known as *gramani*. We have already discussed the role of the ‘*grama*’ and the

‘gramani’ in the political life of ancient India in the Vedic period. Their corporate life will be focussed subsequently in our discussion of Sabha, Samiti etc. Since villages were combined together and the people (Visas and janas) also felt the necessity of being united together for common interests, there arose a Stage or *rastra*, the highest political organisation in the country.

Thus from the above survey it is clear to us that the family in the process of evolution grew into clan, the clan expanded into the tribe or in the long run, the tribe was absorbed in the State or *Rastra*. The Head of the family could have become the chief of a clan, then the leader of a tribe and ultimately the ruler of a State. In our discussion on kingship in the next section, we shall find how the pressing military need hastened the rise of the first traces of State. As in the Bible (Book of Samuel), we find that the Hebrews made Saul as their first king of Israel when they realised that their league (Israelite amphictyony) was no match for the Philistines, so in the Vedas we can trace the emergence of State or the institution of kingship as a natural response to hostile pressure. George Thomson’s idea about the formation of State may be quoted here: “The growth of private ownership derived a powerful impetus from the domestication of cattle. Game is perishable and land is immovable, but wealth in the form of cattle is durable and is easy to steal or to exchange. Being essentially nomadic, pastoral tribes are quick to increase their wealth by cattle, raids and war; and since warfare, which had grown out of hunting, was waged by men it reinforced the tendency already inherent in pastoral society, for wealth to accumulate in their hands....But warfare requires unity of leadership and consequently these tribes develop a type of kingship not magical, but military.

In reward for their successful leadership the king receives the lion’s share of spoils, and the wealth thus amassed promotes social inequalities which shake the whole fabric of

tribal society, beginning at the top". Aechyhes and Athens, London, (1950). This argument of G. Thomson may be applied in the case of the emergence of Vedic States. The Vedic Aryans, while fighting with the pre-Aryan peoples, realised the utility of the State organisation. We must remember also the fact that besides military necessity, other factor like class-division and property rights were equally responsible for the emergence of Vedic rastras. The king ruled over one or sometimes over more rastras. His duties in times of war were to so much insisted upon that he might have been originally a heroic chieftain. The Vedic rastra was not a well-defined political term and so it can not be taken to be a 'State' precisely in the modern sense of the term.

Of course, we may use the term 'rastra' as 'State', as anthropologists use it in the sense of a recognisable political unit. The Kulas (families), visah (clans) and Jana-s (tribes) would indicate the population structure of the rastra, whereas gramas (villages) formed the basis of the territorial structure of the rastra in the Vedic period.

Rigvedic Brahmanas

To the *Rig-Veda*, two Brahmanas are attached, viz. (1) the *Aitareya Brahmana*, edited, translated and explained by Dr. M. Haug, Bombay, 1863. See *Indian Wisdom* (m.W's.) pp. 27-35 Max Muller's A.S.L. 313 ff. It is being re-edited with commentary, &c. by Pandit Satayavrata Samasrama of Calcutta. The first Vol. is published. It is to be completed in 4 Vol. of 20 fasciculi. 5,000 slokas.

To this belongs the *Aitareya-Aranyaka* in five books, the first three translated by Max Muller, S.B.E. Vol. i. pp. 155-268 (cf. Intro. p. xci-xcviii), with its Upanishad. The original is edited by Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

And (2) The *Kausitaki Brahmana*, otherwise called

Shankhayana with its Aranyaka and Upanishad. Max Muller's translation of the Upanishad is also included in vol. i. of S.B.E., pp. 268-308, and Prof. Cowell's will be found in the Bibliotheca Indica. See M.Muller's Intro. S.B.E., vol. i. pp. xcvi—c.

The Aitareya Brahmana spreads over eight books, each containing five chapters or lectures and sub-divided into an equal number of section (*Khandas*) amounting in the whole to 285. It is principally in matrical form, with however large portions in prose.

The Kaushitaki Brahmana contains two dialogues of some interest, one in which Indra instructs Pratardana in theology (an extract from which will be found below) and another in which Ajatasatru, King of Benares, communicates divine knowledge to a priest called Balaki. By many this Brahmana is, as a whole, regarded and treated as an Upanishad.

The two Brahmanas of the Rig-Veda treat essentially of the same matter, but not unfrequently take opposite sides; and while both deal largely of Soma or Homa sacrifices, the former almost confines itself to thee. They are identified with sacrifices in which the fermented juice of the Soma or Moon plant is used in worshipping the god Soma, now accepted by scholars as none other than the Moon, of which the plant was the earthly incarnation.

Hindus give the following story in explanation of the name Aitareya. It is related by Sayana in his introduction to the Brahmana. An ancient Rishi had among his many wives one who was called itara. She had a son Mahidasa Aitareya by name. The Rishi preferred the sons of his other wives to Mahidasa, and went even so far as to insult him once by placing all his other children in his lap to his exclusion. His mother, grieved at this ill-treatment of her sons, prayed to her family goddess, who appeared in her celestial form in the midst of the assembly, placed Mahidasa on a throne, and gave him, as

a token of honour for his surpassing all other children in learning, a boon which had the appearance of a Brahmana. The boon having been received a Brahmana, consisting of 40 sections, came forth through the mind of Mahidasa, and its Aranyaka was revealed in the shape of the vow of an hermit. Hence, after Mahidasa Aitareya, the Brahmana and its Aranyakas are called Aitareya. According to Brahmanical ideas, vows, curses and blessings can assume visible forms as stated in the story.

Notwithstanding the amount of matter which the Aitareya contains, and the number of sacrifices, rites and ceremonies of which it treats, it does not profess to be in any sense complet, however exhausting it may be to the reader. It refers directly or indirectly to sacrifices of which it gives no account; and rites, such as given in the Hotri priest handbooks, are simply passed over unnoticed. As an example take the ceremony of choosing the sacrificial priests with which the hand-books begin, comencing with the announcement to the Hotri priest, "there will be a Soma sacrifice of such and such a one; you are respectfully requested to act as Hotar at it;" the priest's question, "What is the reward for the priests?" and the reply, "One hundred and twelve cows." The rite ends with the two formulae. "I...of such and such a gotra will bring the...sacrifice...for which ten things (cow and so on) are required, and for which as fee one hundred and twelve cows must be given. At this sacrifice be thou my Hotar.' The priest accepts the appointment in the formula. 'May the great thing thou hast spoken of to me, the splendour thou spokest of, the way of performance thou spokest or, the enjoyment thou spokest of; may all that thou spokest of come to me; may it enter me; may I have enjoyment through it. Agni is thy divine Hotar. He is the divine Hotar. I am thy human Hotar.'"

Such was the universal formula used.

The model of all the one-day Soma sacrifices is the Agnistoma,

itself the holiest rite in the whole Brahmanical service. All other Soma sacrifices are modifications of it. Hence the first thirteen chapters of the Aitareya, treat of it. Itself lasts generally for five days, each of which has its own ceremonies duly described. Those of the first four days are merely introductory, yet every detail is absolutely necessary to the efficacy of the sacrifice.

In the various ceremonies of princely inauguration described in the Aitareya, the principal part consists in the sprinkling of holy water over the head of the king, reminding one of the anointing of the Jewish kings, as also of their baptisms. To qualify the newly made king to partake of the Soma, he had to be made a Brahman for the occasion. But no sooner was the ceremony finished than he had to resign his brahmanhood and to be unbrahmanised. Such was the high dignity of the Brahman even in these Vedic times, a thousand years before the foundation of the See of St. Peter at Rome. He is now fallen, under Muhammadan and Christian rule on evil days. Below, we quote from the Brahmana words indicative of the promises made to kings for thus submitting to brahman priestcraft.

In the kaushitaki Brahmana there is a passage implying a special prominence given to a Hindu deity who came afterwards to be known as Sva. He is called Isana and Mahadeva. The passage may be an interpolation, as Siva is not one of the Vedic gods. There are other circumstances which render it probable that the whole of this Brahmana is less ancient than the Aitareya Brahmana.

“If,” remarks Max Muller, “we compare the Brahmanas of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins, we find their wording, even when they treat of the same matters, very different. The order in which the sacrifices are described is not always the same, nor are the ceremonial rules always identical. Illustrations and legends are interspersed in the Brahmana of the Kaushitakins of which no trace can be found in the

Brahmana of the Aitareykins. And yet with all these differences the literal coincidence of whole chapters, the frequent occurrence of the same sentences, the same comparisons and illustrations, render it impossible to ascribe to each a perfectly independent origin," p. 191.

Both contain a large number of myths and legends of much interest, independent of the purpose for which they are introduced. One of the most interesting in Vedic literature is the legend of Sunahsepha, found in the second part of the Aitareya Brahmana, given as an explanation of a hymn in the Rig-Veda Sanhita. There is a good deal of parallelism between it and the story of Abraham offering up Issac. Some of these legends, including that of Sunhsepha, quoted at length by Prof. Max Mullar in his history pp. 408-419, are much older traditions than the text in which they are embedded. They are of special value in the study of comparative religion and comparative language.

This Brahmana is also known under the name Sakhayana Brahmana, just as the older Aitareya is spoken of as the Svalayana Brahmana. The arrangement of the Kaushitaki, as stated above, differs considerably from that of the Aitareya Brahmana. For example, the sacrifice called Dikshaniya Ishti, which comes first in the Aitareya, occupies the 7th Chapter in the Kaushitaki. While there are sacrifices thus common to both, there are others which are found in the one, but not in the other. Still it is very apparent that they had a common origin. It is also worthy of notice that they appeal continually to earlier authorities, not to speak of the Sanhita to which reference is so often made. In the Kaushitaki-Brahmana, "the conflicting opinions of ancient sages are so well confronted, and their respective merits so closely discussed, that, " as Prof. Max Muller remarks (His. p. 428), "we sometimes imagine ourselves reading the dogmatic philosophy of Jaimini." The older of the two Brahmanas consists of 40, the latter of 30 chapters or Adhyayas; hence, according to

Panini, they should be called—“*trainsani* and *chatvarinsani brahmanani*.” One of the stories common to both may be here referred to as of some interest—“Kavasha Ailusha is the author of several hymns in the 10th Book of the Rig Veda. Yet this same Kavasha was expelled from the sacrifice as an impostor and as the son of a slave (*dasyah putra*), and he was readmitted, only because the gods had shown him special favour...In the Mahabharata he is called a Nishada.” (M. M’s His. p. 59.).

The following story from the Kaushitaki, declaring how to deal with a mistake, is not given in the Aitareya : “King Pratardana sat down in the presence of the Rishis of Nimisha and asked the question—‘If the Sadasya should make known a past blunder, how would you be free from sin?’ The priests were silent. Their Brahman said—‘I do not know this, Alas ! Let us ask the teacher of our fathers, the elder Jfukarnya.’ he asked him—‘How the blunder could become not a blunder by saying the passage again, or by an offering?’ Jatukarnya said—‘The passage must be said again. The Brahmana asked him again—‘Should he say again the Shastra...or whatever else it may be, from beginning to end?’ Jatukarnya said—‘As far as the blunder extends, so far let him say it again, whether a verse, a half-verse, a foot, a word or a letter.’ Then said Kaushitaki : ‘Let him not say the passage again, nor let him perform a penance offering.’ It is not a ‘blunder,’ so said Kaushitaki; ‘for whatever blunder the Hotris commit at the sacrifice without being aware of it, all that Agni the divine Hotri, make whole; and this is confined by a verse from the Rig-Veda.’ (Kaush.-Br. vi. 11). See M.M’s His. p. 407.

The Aitareya-Brahmana ends with a most remarkable spell, the use of which properly would lead to the total ruin and destruction of one’s enemy. As the Astronomy of it is somewhat peculiar, we will indulge in a few short extracts from it. It is called a “spell to be spoken and applied by a king to kill his enemies.” “All enemies and foes of him who knows

this ceremony die round about him. Round him five deities are dying, viz., Lightning, rain, moon, sun, fire. The rain when fallen is absorbed by the moon which disappears; the moon at the time of the new is absorbed by the sun which disappears, &c.... Out of fire the sun is born... From the sun the moon is born... From the moon the rain is born... From rain lightning is born... In this way he puts his enemy down even should he wear a stone helmet (i.e. is well armed.”).

Rgvedic Architecture

Confusion in respect of the Vedic one is enormous. The same scholars talk of wattle and daub and make therefore have a look at the architectural jargon available in the *Rgveda* which even in its meagreness presupposes exactly the same material, style and workmanship as those used by the Harappans:

adhistana (X. 81. 2)— foundation (*cf. adhistha*—to stand upon, depend upon, stand over).

adhav (I. 39. 8)—stupendous, immense.

ata (X. 5. 5)—the frame of a door.

arambhana (X. 81. 2)—the act of taking hold of, lying the foundation, *muhurta*.

dvrta (X. 130. 7)—covered.

uttama (I. 91. 18; III. 5. 10; V. 28. 3)—highest, elevated.

uttambha (III. 5. 10)—to uphold, support.

upamit (I. 59. 1; IV. 5.1)—prop, stay (*upami*—to stick or fasten).

citti (III. 2. 3; 3. 3; VIII. 4. 4; 19, 59. 11)—brick laying.

chanda (X. 130. 3)—shape, appearance.

tirscina (X. 129. 5)—transverse, horizontal.

durya (II. 38. 5; VII. 1. 11)—relating to door/house.

dvara (I. 13.6; III. 5. 1; V 5. 5)—gate, door, entrance.

dharuna (I. 73, 4; V. 15. 1; VII. 34. 24)—prop, support, firm ground.

nidani (I. 127.7)—main support (the load bearing girder).

nidana (X. 130. 3)—rope, band; *cf. nidita* (V. 2.7)—properly

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fastened.

mana (I. 139. q1; VII. 33. 13)—measurement, measuring rope or rod.

rasana (ii. 28. 50)—measuring cord, string, yarn.

vamsa (I. 10. 1)—bamboo (used as for beams of inclined roof).

variman (III. 59. 3; IV. 54. 4)—expanse, circumference, width, breadth.

varivas (I. 59. 5; III. 34. 7)—room, space, free scope.

vatu (I. 164.6; VIII. 28.5)—building, structure.

vastospati (V. 41. 8; VII. 54. 1-3)—presiding deity of building structure.

visuvat (I. 84. 10; 164. 43)—having both sides equally, (span laid lengthwise on the top).

skamba (III. 31. 12; IV. 13.5)—the vertical prop upholding the *visuvat*.

stambha (I. 121.2)—column.

Rinadana (Recovery of Debts)

It is another little of law. The idea of liability to clear off the debts grew up in the minds of ancient Indians as early as the Rv., as evidenced by the rc (“yatha kalam yatha sapham yatha rnam samnayamassi/eva dussvapnayam sarvamaptye sam nayamasyanehaso va utayah su-utayo va utayah//”) where there is the prayer; “Let us drive away the evil effects of bad dreams as we pay off debts.” Elsewhere (“Rnava vibhyad-dhanam icchamano’ nyesam-astam-upanaktam-eti”) the gambler is noted as fearing for his gambling-debt and approaching others’ houses at night, desiring wealth. Thus we find that the debtor was afraid of being confined by his creditor in the Rgvedic age. The money-lenders extracted double the amount what they had lent, as proved by the rc (Indra visvan ve kanata ahardrsa uta kratva pani-r-abhi) which describes Indra as striking all ‘Pani-s who make representation of taking doubt with his power. The AB (Rnam-asmin samnayatyamrtvam cha gacchati. Pita putrasya jatasya

pasyecchij-jivato mukham) states that the father transfer all his debts to his son, born and alive and then wins immortality. The Rv. refers to adityas as being truthful and paying off all the debts, used in a metaphorical sense, i.e., all the dues payable to his worshippers for their prayers. (“rtavana-schayamana rmani”).

The terms ‘rna’ is used so frequently in the RV. that we may ‘accept its existence as a normal condition in those days. The rc (x. 34.10) noted above, seems rather “to refer to the binding and taking away as a slavel”, according to the authors of the Vedic Index though Pischel explains it as the binding of a debtor for non-payment. The rc (“na janimo nayata vaddham-etam) is a clear evidence to the fact that debtors were bound by their creditors and taken, obviously as their slaves or at least as a measure of putting pressure on them or their friends or relatives to pay off the debt. The AB. (“anno bhavami”) is a prayer to Agni for being free from all debts, not yet paid up (apamityam-spatittam), for Agni knows “how to unfasten all fetters.” (pasam vichrtam vetha sarvan). The people were equally anxious to pay off all debts borrowed, while living and to become guiltless, here and hereafter (verses 5 and 6). Another verse of AB refers to a debt contracted without intention of payment. (Adasyannagna uta samgrnami). The AV. mentions a post (drupada) to which a guilty person (probably a debtor) was bound as a punishment, though or course, Whitney interprets this verse as referring only to sin. Debts are said to “have gathered” like kings and the Rsi prays for transfer of all the evil dream to the foeman. (AV., xix, 57.2). The Rv. or the AV mentions ‘kala’ (1/16th) and the entire debt to be paid (yatha kalam yabha ‘sapham yatha rnam samnayamasi). Whitney suggests that kala and sapha meaning 1/16th and 1/8th respectively is possibly the interest.

But it is quite uncertain, as noted in the Vedic Index, “whether interest or instalment of the principal is meant.” The Kausikasutra, regards, three hymns of the AV. as

accompanying the satisfaction of a debt after the death of a creditor by payment to his son or otherwise. The Rgveda (ma bhartu-r-Agne anrjo-r-rnam ve-rma) hints at the clearance of the debt of the debtor by his brother. Zimmer thinks that the debt was paid in presence of witnesses and in case of any dispute the witnesses were appealed to. But the learned authors of the Vedic Index have rightly commented that “this conclusion is, however very uncertain, resting solely on a vogue verse in the AV. Brahmanaspati is spoken of as ‘one who recovers a debt (rnam-adadih) in the AV. In another rc (“dirghathiyo raksamana asyryam-rtavanaschayamana rnani”) the Adityas are described as the observes of rta and collectors of debts. The rc (II.28.9 “paraarna sabi-r-adha matkrtani”) is a prayer for clearance of all debts, incurred by ancestors and by the person concerned.

The SB mentions ‘usurers’ coming to the kingdom of Asita Dhanva whose people were the Asuras and it associates the black art (magic trick) with them. The term ‘Vekanata’ is found in the Rv., noted above (viii. 66.10) in the sense of a usurer. Sayana explains this word as “anena kUSDino vrddhijivino vardhusika uchyante”, i.e., one lives on interest on money lent and he takes ‘ve’ in the sense of two and he says that the interest was double the principal amount. Yaska also explains the word ‘Vekanata’ as usurers taking twice the amount lent. (“Vekanatah khalu kusidinah bhavanti dvigunakarinah va dviguna-dayinah va dvigunam kamayante iti va”). If Yaska’s interpretation is taken, the above rc (viii, 66.10) shows that money-lenders used to receive double the amount they had lent. Of course, the period of time, for which this interest was charged, is not mentioned in this rc. However, heavy interest was not the usual practice, as we find in this rc that Indra strikes by his power all panis and Vekanata who charge so. The TS (Agni-r-Vava Yama iyam Yami kusidam va etad-yamasya Yajamana adatte... Vat kusidam-apratitam mayi yena yamasya valina charami,...Agne arno bhavami) has been translated by Keith thus: That loan which I have not

yet paid back, the tribute that I still owe to Yams, here do I make requital for it; here, O Agni, may I be freed from the debt.” Jolly has rightly taken the term ‘kusida’ of this passage of the TS in the sense of ‘loan’. Elsewhere the TS (Jayamano vai brahmana-s-tribhir-mnaba jayate brahmacharyena Rsibhyo yajna Devedbhyah prajaya pitrabhya esa va anrno yah plutriyayva brahmachari Vasi.”) states that “a brahmana on birth is born with a threefold debt, of pupilship to the Rsism of sacrifice to the gods, of offspring too the Pitrs. He is freed from his debt who has a son, is a sacrificer and who has lived as a pupil: this (debt) he performs (avadayate) by these cuttings-off (avadanaih).

There is little doubt that debtors had a very cruel fate even in the Rgvedic age and it is not unlikely that the reason lies in the origin of debt in crimes. Dr. Pal’s suggestion that “originally varideya was the debt and hence, if the debtor could not buy off the spear, he must bear it”, is justified. Most probably the debtor to pay off the person whom he has offended, i.e., whose son he has killed was forced to borrow money from another. Similarly, one who incurred debt at dicing was another example of the contractual debt, which aroused little sympathy for the debtors. The exact payment of debts—the Vedic Aryans had to take to cruel measures on such debtors.

The rc, mentioned before is an instance of pledge (adhi) where the image of Indra has been noted as an object of pledge. Pledge was in the Vedic age usufructuary or without use.

Gautama gives us first to all jurists, laws of debts, though in a concise form: “The legal interest for money lent (is at the rate of) five masas a month for twenty (karsapanas). Some (declare, that this rate should not be paid) longer than a year. If (the loan) remains out-standing for along time, the principal may be doubled (after which interest ceases).” This last rule is now known as “damdupat”. He provides also for the debt which is secured by a pledge that is used by the creditor that

the usufruct is the interest and nothing more is payable. He also enjoins that where money is tendered by the debtor but not accepted, interest stops. He mentions five kinds of interest: Compound (chakravrdhih), periodical (kala-vrdhih), stipulated (karita), corporal (kayika personal service) and daily interest and the usufruct of a pledge.

He lays down also special rates of interest in cases of loans of products of animals, wool and products of field and beasts of burden, upto five times the value of the loan. Elsewhere he enjoins that debts of a person must be paid by his heirs but not in cases of those due by a surety, a commercial debt, a sulka (customs duty), and those incurred for spirituous liquor or in gamaling or a find (payable by his sons). He adds that "an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, an object lent for use, an object' bought (but not paid, and a pledge, being lost without the fault of the holder (shall not involve) any blameless person. Haradatta comments that in case the bailee was guilty of no negligence and took the same care of the deposits etc. as of his own property, neither he nor his heirs need make good the value of those which were lost or destroyed." Apastamba refers to a usurer (Vardhusika) whose food must not be eaten; and elsewhere he mentions panance for one who lends money at interest. Vasistha (Baudh. D.S.) quotes two verses condemning a usurer who taking cheap grains lends it on condition of receiving a quantity of grain of high price. Like Gautama (xii. 26) Bodhayana D.s. sanctions 1/30th part of the principal lent, so that the principal is doubled in six years and eight months. One who subsists on adhi is also excluded to be invited to a sraddha ceremony by Apas (ye cha adhim). Haradatta explains 'adhi' here as 'rent of a house, because 'Vardhusika' is mentioned a little later. But the letting out of a house is not condemned by any other jurist and hence it is better to take 'adhi' here as pledge or mortgage.

The Kausikasutra (uttamarne mrte tadapatyaya prayacchati sagotraya smasane nivapati chatus pathe cha) provides for

casting the debt in the cemetery or at the crossing of four roads if the creditor is dead and there are no heirs.

The term 'pratibhu' is noted in Panini (II. 3.39) and Gautama D.S. refers to money due by a surety. A surety is one who agrees to pay or indemnify if the borrower comits default, only to breed confidence in the creditor. Apas, refers to the method of sitting at the door for recovery of debts.

The sense of insecurity of person and property urges a man to deposit his valuables with a reliable person or to bury them in the earth. Gautama (x. 43 & 45) enjoins that as the king is the lord of the earth, he becomes the owner of all 'nidhi', i.e., hidden treasures, when found out, except that, discovered by a Brahmana. The Brahmana, if learned may keep the entire nidhi as his own. Jolly seems to be correct when he suggests that the brahmana was originally regarded as owner of nidhi, "the king is less thought of."

Rsabha in the Atharvaveda

It is an attempt to investigate the word Rsabha and the allied words communicating the same or the allied sense. From the Rgveda (RV) the word and the deity Rsabha had become obscure to the extent that the later scholars like Aayana gave a number of interpretations viz. sacrificial mystic, Ayurvedic and grammatical. The Atharvaveda equally gives all those meanings besides various other allegories which make the concept clear and involves a number of mythological stories in its background of the RV. It has not only concern with Brahmana mythology but it appears that it is concerned with a number of other sociological their status from the RV. Taking the words meaning to ox or Bull, the investigation pertains to all those words.

Root Vrs: In the Atharvaveda (AV), the word is used in the sense of 'Pour down' e.g. pouring of the Soma in the sacrifice, which is accepted by Whitney with the prefix 'a.' But

immediately it took its limited meaning' to pour the seed for pregnancy' which is available for the words Vrsna, Vrsabha, Rsabha, Vrsa, Vrsan. It is very interesting that its meaning 'Bull' is available in the chapters VII, IX, XVI, XVIII and XX, vis-a-vis its meaning 'Pourer' in the chapters VII, IX, XVI, XVIII and XX. only.

Bull/Ox: The words for bull used in the AV. are anadvan, Rsabha, Vrsa and Vrsna which are used for the expressions 'father of calve', 'husband of cows' 'with curly horns' (Tignmasrnga); weeping in the groups; having relations with cows the bull to the firmament, an aquatic, golden-horn directly or in the form of similes.

Mighty: Transference of these meanings occurred when all these words and some new other words express the meaning power or might including heroism, manly power, animal power, which are also the adjectives of the deities like Indra, Brhaspati, osadhi, Sindhu and horses. These words are Vrsa, Vrsabha Vrsana, Vrsatvan, Vrsan, Vrsanyu, Vrsna, vrsni, land Vrsanyavat.

Besides the popular meanings, some other specific, allegorical, and proper names etc. are found which have concealed history in the Mantras which is the main issue of this paper. It appears that Vrtra had been identified with Rsabha who was a dominant enemy of Indra and it had been the project of all the deities in confideracy to kill him. It was nothing but a conflict of killing of cows vs. non-killing. Agriculture vs. non-agriculture; faith vs. non-faith. Slowly the Panis and the winning of the cows remained only in memory and there reconciliation of Rsabha and Indra to the extent that Indra had been identified with Vrsabha and Indra compared with Vrsa. Rsabha attained the position of a great deity thousand fold (Sahasra) and allegorically identified with the great deities of Vedic mythology (infra).

Rsabha in the Rgveda

One may observe interestingly the initial position of the letter 'R' in the words like 'Rk' (Verse of the *Rgveda*), (seer of the Rk), Rta (the cosmic order), Rtvik (Vedic priest), Rsti (Indra's bolt), and *Rsabha* (bull or sound), etc. which are practically recognised as the representative words for Vedic culture. There are some other terms beginning with the vowel 'R' like *Rbhu*, *Rjisa*, etc. which, however, are not so much important as those quoted above.

Indeed, these words uphold the importance of the vowel 'R' that stands fourth by order in the Panini's alphabetical system (*Varna-samamnaya*). It precedes only three fundamental vowels, viz, 'a', 'i' and 'u' which by the process of *Sandhi* (combination) evolve in all other vowels excepting in 'R'. Thus the vowel 'R' has got a distinct character where from no other vowels can be deduced and this alone amidst all other vowels is a cerebral one.

Similarly the words having 'R' as first letter are of much importance in the Vedic culture, which may be highlighted by explaining any of the words quoted above. Now here we will concentrate on the word '*Rsabha*' which is no less important than any of the other aforesaid words. The term *Rsabha* occurs only four times in the *Rgveda* having two meanings in general as 'the bull' and 'the great one'. The term was perhaps a favourite one to the seers as we find two seers of the same name in the *Rgveda*, one of them was *Rsabha Vaisvamitra*, and the other *Rsabha Vairaja* or *Sakvara*. The terms 'Vairaja' and 'Sakvara' are significant as they are connected with the names of the Vedic metres *Viraj* and *Sakvari*. *Rsabha* is also familiar as the second note in the Indian musical system. There is also a *saman* (Vedic song) named as *Rsabha* through which Indra became the greatest one like *Rsabha*. *Rsabha* was offered to Agni as oblation along with *Vasa* a barren cow (or its counterpart?). In the *Rgveda*, as synonyms of the word *Rsabha* there are two other

terms, viz, *Uksan* and *Vrsabha*, of which the latter is an oft-quoted one and favourite to the extent of even replacing the term *Rsabha*.

Now what exactly does the term *Rsabha* denote? has it any distinction with *Vrsabha*? let us try to find an answer.

Yaska, the etymologist is silent about the term *Rsabha*, but he deals with the term *Vrsabha* which he derives from the root \sqrt{Vrs} 'to shower' and particularly 'to procreate. In grammar both the terms, i.e., *Vrsabha* and *Rsabha* are derived by an *unadi*-suffix—*abhac* from the roots \sqrt{Vrs} 'to procreat' and \sqrt{Rs} 'to go', respectively. Thus *Vrsabha* means one who showers or procreates and *Rsabha* is one having motion. But so far as the connotation of the term *Rsabha* is concerned this cannot be the only meaning of it.

Let us now study the image of *Rsabha* as it stands in the Brahmanical literature. The Brahmanas more or less record the Rgvedic sense of the term only extending its use in a wider context and perhaps sometimes only in new direction. Thus we see in this period an one-day sacrifice known as *Rsabha-ekaha*. It was offered as an oblation to Soma and Indra also. It was given as sacrificial fee to the Vedic priests. In the Brahmanas it is also known as the lord of beasts. In the *Satpatha-Brahmana* it is said to be born out of Indra. Moreover, we are reminded also with the references as to the origin of *Uksan Vasa* from the metre *Gayatri*. In the *Mahavrata* performance of the *Gayamayana-Soma* sacrifice earth-drums were made digging holes in the ground and covering with the skin of *Rsabha*. Thee drums were for producing high sounds, and the skin of *Rsabha* was used as the supreme sound resides in *Rsabha*.

This is the only remarkable point that this *Rsabha* has been considered in the Brahmanas as the guardian of the demon-killing sound (*Asuraghni vak*). We may note here the story of Manu's *Rsabha*. as narrated in the *Satapatha-Brahmana*.

The sage Manu had a *Rsabha*, the demon killing *vak* took shelter in that *Rsabha*. Now as many *Asuras* as heard him bellowing were destroyed. The *Asura* priests named Kilata and Akuli intending to kill the *vak* sacrificed this bull, but the *vakk* fled to Manu's wife and ultimately took shelter in the implements of the sacrifice beyond the reach of the *Asuras*. Thus the connotations of *Rsabha* that become distinct in the Brahmanas are (1) the bull, (2) the great, (3) the primal sound or the supreme sound, which may be suited equally to the term *Vrsabha* also. Then where is the difference between the two terms?

It appears that there might have been a distinction between these two terms in the primary state, and gradually the term *Vrsabha* being oftener used stood for *Rsabha* in the long run. Now it will not be unnatural to infer that a full, having the creative power when related to the sacrifice was known as *Vrsabha*, the fulfiller of desire, and the same with all those qualities was termed as *Rsabha* so long as it was not associated with the sacrifice. There is, thus, a legitimate ground to infer, two stages of the creative process indicated in these two terms, the first *Rsabha* indicates only the potentiality of the creative force and the other *Vrsabha* indicates the creative urge in action.

In the Aranyakas and Upanisads we find *Rsabha* as identified with Indra and also with the fundamental sound *Om* which evolves as an essence out of the Vedas. *Rsabha*'s identity with Prajapati, the creator, has already been judged analogically on its being the lord of beasts in the Brahmanas. Thus we find *Rsabha* as a particular *saman*, the guardian of *Asuraghni vak*, the supreme sound or *Om*. The term, 'Sakvari' that means the *Rk* verse and the seer's name as *Rsabhasvara* perhaps reflect a relation between *Rk* and *Rsabha*. Indeed, once we hear a seer praying to Agni to accept his *Rk Rsabha*, as the oblation.

Thus the above discussion may lead to the argument the

Rsabha symbolises the basic sound, credited with the power of creating all other sounds. The 'Om̐kara', a sound, is self-created as Prajapati, the creator god. This basic sound transforms itself into *vak* as creation takes place. So *Vrsabha* may be considered as the creator, the wish-yielding one, being connected with the course, or order of sacrifice, or the process of creation, to whom the 'go' or the cow is his counterpart. On the other hand, the same being prior to the commencement of creation or sacrifice, standing, though prolific, as unproductive with the counterpart 'Vasa' is known as *Rsabha*, the symbol of the basic sound *Om̐kara*, the only goal of all the Vedas.

Rsi

It would be appropriate, first, to discuss how the word *rsi* is generally explained. The *TA* derives the word *rsi* from *abhi* + *a* + *rs* (= to go towards, to appear). Sayana also derives it from *rs* (=to go). Sayana in his commentary on I.1.2 again explains the word from the grammatical point of view. The word *rsi* is made up, according to him, of *rs*=in. There is no ablaut of the radical vowel in the case *r*, according to Panini's *sutra*, *rsyandhaka* etc., otherwise the word would have been *arsin*. If, however, the termination is taken to be *kit*, then the question of the modification (*guna*) of the penultimate short vowel does not arise at all. In his introduction to the commentary of the *RV* Sayana seems to connect the word *rsi* with *drs* (=to see), saying that the Veda which was beyond the scope of sense-perception, was revealed, first to all, to the sages through the favour of God. As the sages were thus first 'to see' the Veda they are called *rsis*. In his *Nirukta* (2.11) Yaska also quotes the opinion of Aupamanyava: *rsir darsanat/stoman dadarsa iti Aupamanyavah*.

The implication of this interpretation obviously is that the Veda is eternal, that it has not been created by any agency, and that the only thing for which the *rsis* may claim credit is that they

‘discovered’ it and brought it to the notice of the posterity. The *rsis* are indeed *suktadrastarah* and no *suktakartarah*. The *Nirukta* further informs us that the *rsis*, to whom the knowledge was directly revealed, imparted it through different about the continuity of this direct tradition and with a view to preserving every single letter of it, composed the Vedas and the Vedangas. The *SB* derives the word *rsi* from *ris* (=to toil hard, to suffer from). All these traditional interpretations of the word *rsi* seem to take them account the content—direct as well as implied—of the word rather than its linguistic form.

Ulhenbeck tries to connect the word, *rsi* with Avestic *cresya* meaning ‘right-doing’. Taraporevala has shown the correspondence existing between the words, *asa* of the Avesta and *rta* of the *RV*. He points out that *rtasya anthah* in the *RV* (VII.55.3) and *asathe pantao* in the stanza of *Yasna* (LXXII) suggest the concept of the path of righteousness or purity. A regular graduation in the *Avesta* is pointed out by him such as: *rta—ereta—areta—areta—arsa (eres)—asa*. According to Taraporevala, therefore, the word *rsi* is a derivative form *rs* (i.e. truth or righteousness).

Grassmann tries to derive it from *ars* (= to flow) and hence *rsi* means one in whom knowledge is flown. G. Bloch also suggested that the word *rsi* may be derived from *ars* (variant: *vars*) because the *rsi* is, indeed, a rain-magician. The *PW* derives it from *are*—to praise. Gray, on the other hand, states that the etymologies given by all these modern scholars appear to be phonologically impossible. Gray thinks that *rsis* received their appellation because they were believed, in a pre-historic period, actually to have ‘seen’ the hymns while in a lightly emotional state of religious exaltation, very possibly in a trance. With this hypothesis GBEY tries to connect the word, *rsi* with Sanskrit *res*—roar; Gothic *razda* and *OE record* (speech). The IE-base *rese* thus appears in Sanskrit as *ras* (=to howl, to cry); perhaps in Latin *raccare*, *rancare* (=to roar) and *rana*—‘frog’. The entire group, according to Gray, appear

to go back to an onomatopoeic base represented by Sanskrit *rc*, a vocative particle generally expressing contempt or disrespect. Gray's suggestion is certainly ingenious and actually seems to point the way to a correct etymology of the word, *rsi*. Whatever,, however, be the correct etymology of the word, the concept, *rsi*. Whatever, however, be the correct etymology of the word, the concept, *rsi* has all along been taken to include ideas relation to poetic and prophetic vision, super-sensual knowledge, righteousness and ecstasy.

Rta

Veda is revealed by the Divinity, as it is a firm belief of an Arya. He treats this point quite incontrovertible. All the *Vedic Dharmins* are agreed on this conviction. It is not a case only with Aryas, but a sound thinker who desires to trace the origin of knowledge and speech would have to come to this conclusion. For him, this fact will be ineluctable. Vedic *Samhitas* themselves stand testimony of this view. Rgveda defining the Vedic speech says: *Tisro vacha irayati pravahni rtasya dhitim brahmano manisam. Gavo yanti gopatim prichchamanah somam yanti matayo vavasannah.* Rgveda IX. 97-33 i.e. the All sustaining Lord of the universe reveals three kinds of speeches of four Vedas. These speeches consist of the revelation of *rta*, the laws eternal, and the knowledge of the universe. Speeches in the word-forms go to him who knows the words and their meanings and knowledge go to him who is a yogi.

In this verse the Vedas are called the revelation of eternal laws and cosmic order. What is this *rta*? It is here quite pertinent to know this *rta*. Without knowing it one cannot be able to explain mystery of Divine revelation and real nature of the Veda. Describing *rta* the Vedic verse reads:

Rtanch satyancha abbiddhat tapaso adhyajayat. Tato ratrajayat tatah samudro arnvah. Rgveda X.190-1.

From the heating (active) power of the Divinity become manifest the laws eternal together with the subtle matter, thence the dissolution was produced, and thence the atmospheric ocean containing the cosmic principles came into existence.

In this verse the *rta* is defined as laws eternal. Here no other meaning can suitably fit. If the Vedic *rta* is defined and explained, the whole mystery may be cleared out. Hence effort is being here made to throw light on this *rta*.

'*Rta*' means true, proper, right and honest in an ordinary sense. In the Vedas it has various meanings. It stands for truth, eternal laws, cosmic order, water and *Yajna*, etc. Sayanacharya in his commentary usually interpret it to mean 'water', 'sun', or sacrifice, while some European scholars take it in the sense of divine truth and faith etc. The great Vedicist Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati interpreted the word in the sense of; true knowledge; eternal cause; what stands in conformity to cosmic order, the Veda, the eight proofs of reasoning, the practice of adepts, one's own experience and conscientiousness; water; true justice, moral order; God; time; sun; air; atoms and perserverance.

In the Vedic *nighantu* *rtam* denotes the names of truth and water, but commenting on this *Yaskacharya* in his *Nirukta*, has taken it to mean *yajna* and semen etc.

Brahmans explain the word in various senses and some of them are: truth, sun, fire, universe, eye, mind, God and the act which enable one to enjoy unworldly freedom and happiness. Here Sayanacharya's interpretation does not fall in line with the high grandeur of the Vedic *rta*. So far as Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati's view is concerned, the word has been taken in a very comprehensive sense and his view as well as his method of exposition has been corroborated by *Yaksa* and the *Brahmanas*. The Western scholars who hold the view that *rta* means divine truth and faith etc., are progressing

towards the real fact.

Mr. Maurice Bloomfield opines "The high thought of the *rta* is many ways similar of the *Confucian* idea of order, harmony and absence of disturbance. It is unquestionably the best conception that has been elaborated by the Aryans." He further says, "As far as the Veda is concerned, it presents itself under the threefold aspects of cosmic order, correct and patting cult of the gods, and moral conduct of man. We have in connection with the *rta* a pretty complete system of Ethics, a kind of Counsel of Perfection".

As the basis of cosmic order the *rta* rules the world and nature. The established facts of the visible world, but especially the events of nature that recur periodically, are fixed or regulated by *rta*. Those daughters of heaven, the Maidens of Dawn, shine upon the morning sky in harmony with *rta*, or when they wake up in the morning they rise from the seat of *rta*. The sun is placed upon the sky in obedience to the *rta*. He called the wheel of *rta* with twelve spokes. This means that he courses across the sky as the year of twelve months. Even the shallow mystery that the red, raw cow yield white, cooked milk is the *rta* of the cow guided by the *rta*. The gods themselves are born of the *rta* or in the *rta* (*rtajata*) they show by their acts that they know the *rta*, observe the *ria* and love the *rta*."

He further says "the religion of the Veda, as we have observed, rests upon the material foundation of cult and sacrifice. These performances are not always regarded merely as merchandise wherewith to traffic for the blessings of the gods...But even in Rgveda sacrifice fire is kindled under the 'yoking of the *rta* or as we should say, under the auspices of world order. Agni, the god of fire, is 'scion or *rta*' or 'first-born of the *rta*'. He performs his work with *rta*, carries oblations to the gods, "on the path or *rta*". Prayers lowing like cattle, "longing for the soma-drink, "take effect in accordance with *rta*. A figure of speech, bold to the point of grotesqueness, turns

prayer into "*tra* fluid, distilled by the tongue. Holy sacrifice, in the distinction from foul magic, is performed with *rta*; "I call upon the gods, undefiled by witchcraft. With *rta* I perform my work, carry out my thought". Thus exclaims a poetic mind conscious of its own recitude.

Finally in man's activity the *rta* manifests itself as a moral law. Here it takes by the hand the closely kindred idea of truth, *satya*. Untruth on the other hand, is *anrta* more rarely *asatya*, the same two words with prefix of negation. The two words *satya* and *anrta* form a close dual compound, "truth and lie", "sincerity and falsehood" both zealously watched over by God *varuna*. They remain the standard words for those twin opposites for all Hindu time. Varuna is the real trustee of the *rta*. When god Agni struggles towards the *rta* he is said in a remarkable passage to become for the time being God Varuna.

Truth and lie include, by an easy transition, right and wrong doing. In a famous hymn *yami* (Eve) invites *yama* (Adam) to incestuous intercourse...when *yami* pretends to justify the act *yama* exclaims pithily: "In saying the *rta* we shall really say the *anrta*" which, rendered more broadly, means to say: when two pretend to justify the act as being *rta*, 'right-doing', we really shall knowingly engage in *anrta*, wrong-doing". We may imagine *yama* finally saying: "Any-how don't let us beat the devil about the stump."

If we carefully scrutinize the above remarks passed by Mr. M. Bloomfield we can easily come to the conclusion that he could not do justice to the Veda. His was a biased and prejudiced mind and therefore he took everything in the way shown by other Western scholars. Here, it is also evident that the author not competent enough to grasp the meaning of the Vedic verses on which he based the structure of his fancy.

Agni and Varuna etc. are not the gods. They are the objects or elements of other cosmic order. Sometimes they mean

God, the creator, sustainer and annihilator of the universe. Vedic terminology is not easy enough to be understood by the persons who are not well up in the Vedic language and the auxiliary scriptures. The words *deva* and *devata* cannot be translated as gods. They represent sometime, the phenomena of the universe and sometimes the elements and elementary processes. Even the universal spirit is called Agni and Varuna etc. in the Veda.

Yama and *yami*, as the author of the above passage describes, are not Adam and Eve. This is his own imagination. No where this assumption finds any support in the Veda. *Yama* and *yami* are the sun and night as well as the wife and husband who desire to seek the term of *Niyoga*. It is not our subject here here to deal with this point and therefore leave this here with this cursory remark.

Mr. Bloomfield seems right to an approximate extent in including the three-fold aspect of *rta* which consists of cosmic order, correct and fitting, cult of the gods and the moral conduct of man. But he laboured under great misapprehension in understanding the meaning of gods. The second aspect of Vedic *rta* can be included in the first aspect. When it is clear from the Veda that Agni and Varuna etc. are the wordly objects and substances, not the gods of Mr. Bloomfield, the cult of gods has no meaning. Everything of these so-called gods are also the part of that governance. They also follow the path of *rta* in their operations. In this way the functioning of the whole universal system comes within the ambit of cosmic order. Thus two-fold aspect of *rta* can be derived from the passages referred to above and they are cosmic order and moral conduct of man.

Some references given by the author in respect of his own meanings require clarification:

- (a) Daughters of heaven as well as the Maidens of Dawn are not the real meaning of Vedic term, *usa*. These two

- usas* are nothing but dawn and dusk. They are regulated by the *rta*.
- (b) The twelve spokes are not the spokes of chariot wheel. These are the twelve horses extending throughout the course of the sun.
 - (c) If a cow eats green grass and yields white milk it is absolutely due to the regular functioning of its system which is governed by *rta*; the law of nature.
 - (d) All organised bodies or physical objects, animate and inanimate things of the world are called *devas*. They need *rta* for their existence, origination and function. This has been described in the Veda.
 - (e) Fire also does its function in conformity with the world order. Same is the case with the working of speech and mind. It is the pretention of speaking or carrying out of the *rta*, the truth, that has been described in the Veda, not the *rta* or truth. No truth can ever be untruth. If there is any counterfeit of truth, the same cannot even be truth. It should be discouraged at all times.

What does one take in his or in her mind when he or she uses the terms 'cosmic order' or 'the law of nature'. The principle of the order of the world, of regularity, of cosmic phenomena, is conceived by the observers to have existed as a principle before the manifestation of any phenomenon. The argument would seem to be somewhat as follows:

The phenomena of the world are shifting and changeable, but the principle regulating the periodical recurrence of phenomena is constant; fresh phenomena are continually produced, but the principle of order remains the same; the principle, therefore, existed already when the earliest phenomena appeared; hence the Vedic idiom, it is their father, the upholder of the *rta*, who gives or has given birth to them. This idea is found underlying the term *rta* when it is taken as cosmic order or the law of nature. Heaven and earth as well as all the worldly objects

are born in conformity with the *rta*.

The word *rta*, in its various forms, occurs more than hundred twenty times in Rgveda; fourteen times in Yajurveda; forty-three times in Samaveda and thirty-two times in Atharvaveda. At these places it has all those meanings which have been taken by Yaksha, Maharsi Dayananda Sarasvati and the authors of the Brahmana literature. All the meanings have their own importance in their context but the most important of them are cosmic order or law of nature and the moral law. These two aspects of Vedic *rta* carry very deep philosophical consideration. If all their details are thoroughly examined they will lead to the belief that the Veda is not only the scripture of religious rituals and sacraments but it is also a repository of all true knowledge. It is the knowledge which God, the Lord of this universe, revealed for the well-being of mankind.

Those who believe in evolution theory, inculcate that the first stage of morality was based on heteronomy i.e. the subjection of external law. In the primitive stage of human society the elder or leaders were entrusted to form the standard of morality. Whatever, they do becomes the example for others. As the human society advances this heteronomy gives its place to theonomy in which the standard of morality becomes the dictates of God. But in the most advanced stage of society, says an evolutionist, it is neither the society, nor the state and nor the dictates of God which provide the mankind with the standard of morality. This must spring entirely from within ourselves. It is the very essence of human soul. Absence of morality shows the weakness of man's nature and strength lies in his moral integrity.

In the practical life it is not possible for everybody to know which way he should move. He has to face many difficulties in solving his problems of moral criterion. He can make an effort to seek the solution of his problem through heteronomy or theonomy. It is fact that in a balanced life a person cannot ignore the counsels of others and the injunctions of scriptures,

but without autonomy he is unable to be heteronomous or theonomous. All elders are not supposed to agree in matters of conduct of life. At the same time their ways of living and determining the standard of morality may differ from time to time. There may be conflict between their views. So it is not an easy task for an ordinary man to choose the standard of morals. To know the wish of God is another controversial problem. Sometimes it is not also possible to decide the authority of the scriptures in the matter of details. Equally tedious is the question of their right interpretation. The only way left for a man in this matter is to come to his own decision. The whole sole dependency on one's own self-presupposes the idea of total freedom of his self. If this self of a man has no freedom of action the moral standard cannot be determined.

Sabha and Samiti

Kingship embracing various constitutional divergences and asseverating varied constitutional status enjoyed by the rulers of States is doubtless the predominant administrative authority in a Vedic India. While the administrative chief of Madhyadesa is constitutionally designated as raja, the chief of the Western region is termed Samrat, of Northern Virat, and of Southern Bhoja. Notwithstanding these divergences of constitutions chosen by the sons of the soil, the presence of the Sabha and Samiti like the council of ministers is common to all. These popular assemblies—the Sabha and the Samiti—play, the vast Vedic literature solemnly confirms, no negligible role in matters of administration of a Vedic State. The *Aitareya Brahmana* mentions Sabha but keeps silent about the Samiti. this silence of a solitary Bhahmanical text can hardly deny its existence as it is referred to time and again in the anterior, posterior and cc ontemporany texts ranging from the *RK Samhita* to the latest Vedic literature.

The Sabha is the assembly of the learned and virtuous ones. The members of the Sabha are nominated by the kind and called Sabhasad. The feudal kings included in the list of Ratnins or Rajakartarah or the king-Markers' body are also members

of the Sabha. According to Ludwing the Sabha represents the Upper House consisting of the nobles and the priests, while the Samiti represents the Lower House comprising the commoners. A Brahmin is called Sabheya or a man fit to occupy a seat in the Sabha. This is asseverative of noble birth and erudition as the qualifications of a member of the Upper House. The expression 'rayih sabhavan conveying the sense of worthy wealth of the Sabha evidently corroborates the above view held by Ludwig. Macdonell and Keith also seem to be inclined to accept it. Regarding the age of a member of the assemblies the later-Vedic texts confirm that a man enjoying youth is indeed entitled to be a member—'Sabheyo yuva.' The expression 'sabheyam yuvanam' also corroborates the above view. The *Taittiriya Brahmana* further states that young man belonging to the first half of the average human longevity is only entitled to be a member. Thus neither a minor nor an old could qualify for membership of either of the Houses.

The Lord of the Sabha is called Sabhapati which office is invariably ornamented by the King. Sabhapala also sometimes conveys the sense of the Sabhapati while, according to R.K. Mukherji, it denotes the Sergeant of the Assembly. The Sabha functions, the above author holds, as a parliament for the disposal of public business by debate and discussion. The Brahmins erudite in Vedic lore, the *Aitareya Brahmana* reveals, are the members of the Sabha of the divine king Soma. They are all comrades of the king and they hardly harbour any malice against him. They enter the Assembly bearing friendliness in their mind. The comrades carry on discussion on diverse problems relating to the daily administration and exchange their views with the lord of the House—the King. Nevertheless, the King's decision is invariably honoured by the members of the Sabha and they would rather themselves incur defeat out of friendliness. In other words, the members or the comrades of the Sabha submit themselves to the king even though their views diverged. Thus the king's desire or

decision very often becomes the final word. No members of the Sabha is either a disloyal or a bitter critic of the king. They all belong to the Treasury Bench. Having entered the House, they wait respectfully and affectionately for the auspicious arrival of the latter. They become highly delighted when the lord of the House enters the hall with fame and friendliness and pomp and grandeur in commensuration with the constitutional status enjoyed by him. The Sabha, according to Zimmer, however, represents the village council and the Sabhapati denotes Gramani or the Village Headman.

The samiti comprising the peoples' representative, on the other hand, represents the people in general. It is the popular assembly which counsels for the welfare of the whole people. The aim of the Samiti lies in the unity of thought, and the minds of the members are identical. In other words, the welfare of the whole people is the only motto of the Samiti, and not a single member diverges there. It is, therefore, hardly improper to maintain that the Samiti or the Lower House, too, contributes much to the daily administration of the State. The Samiti, V.M. Apte holds, is an august assembly of a larger group of people for the discharge of political business, while the Sabha is a more select body, less popular and political in character. The scholars may be aware that in the days of the *Ramayana* the emperor Dasaratha had to convene the session of the Samiti for an unanimous recommendation of Rama's crowning as Prince Regent. Here, of course, the Samiti comprised all the feudal kings under the emperor as the members and the emperor himself as the lord.

The members of the Samiti point out of the grievances of the people to the king. They are erudite, well to do and popular as well. They represent the people in the trust sense. A member can hardly make his mark in both the Sabha and the Samiti if devoid of gift of the gab and proficiency in debate. The members of the Samiti like their counterparts in the Sabha also await the King's arrival with eagerness. Here, too, the

King is the lord, and he enters the assembly in the most befitting manner—with all pomps and grandeur. Here, however, he is no longer a comrade, and therefore, he cannot readily inflict defeat upon them. In a Sabha, the members are all friendly, and belong to the king's side. They are comrades and as such they never transgress the king's pleasure. But it is not the same with the Samiti. Here all the pleasures of the king, if devoid of merits, are scarcely considered to be final and binding. He can hardly turn a deaf ear to the peoples' representatives for redressing their grievances within the limited resources of the State.

The King is supposed to perform his duties in harmony with both the Houses. The welfare of the kingdom depends very much on their mutual understanding and cooperation. Although the members of the Sabha are nominated by the King, they barely lag behind to advise the latter as their counterparts in the Samiti do in matters of public welfare. Thus the functions of both the Houses, are almost identical. Perhaps, this is why the Houses are called twin daughters of Prajapati. This further suggests the high esteem enjoyed by the members of both the Houses. The Assemblies are regarded, A.S. Altekar holds, almost as divine institutions of greatest antiquity co-evenly existing with the dawn of political life of the community. Notwithstanding that the King is the Chairman himself of both the Houses, these, along with the Office of the Purohita or the Prime Minister exercise considerable authority acting as healthy checks on the arbitrary powers of the King.

Sacrifice

Vedic sacrifices are of two kinds—congregational and individual. Majority of them belong to the first category and are costly, lengthy and complicated. Consequently, they are performed by kings, nobles and rich persons. The earlier mention of these *yajnas* in epigraphs occurs in the Sunga record from Ayodhya where Senapati Pusyamitra has been

styled as “a performer of two Asvamedha sacrifices”. Nayanika, the Satavahana queen performed Asvamedha, Gavamayana, Gargatitratra and Aptoryama sacrifices. Sarvatata, probably the Kanva ruler had also celebrated the Asvamedha in the first century B.C. A brick inscription from Musanagar, Kanpur (at present deposited in the Museum of Ancient Indian History and Culture Department, Hindu University, Banaras) to be assigned on placeographical basis to first century B.C. also mentions the performance of Asvamedha sacrifice by a chief named Devimitra. From the beginning of the Christian era the Kusanas held their sway in N.W. India and they did not seem to have any soft corner in their heart for Vedic sacrifices. Of this period we have got twelve *Homa-Yupa* inscriptions demonstrating the fact that sacrifices though not performed by outlandish kings were continued by local chieftains Bhavanaga, the Naga ruler was sanctified “by baths taken at the end of ten Asvamedhas”, while Pravarasena I is credited with the performance Agnistoma, Aptoryama, Ukthya, Sodasyatiratra, Vajapeya, Brhaspatisatra, Sadyaskra and four Asvamedhas. Samudragupta has been styled in inscriptions of his successors as *cirotsannasvamedhahartuha* phrase which has been translated unanimously as “one who revived the Asvamedhas. Samudragupta has been styled in inscriptions of his successors as *cirotsannasvamedhahartuh* a phrase which has been translated unanimously as “one who revived the Asvamedha sacrifice which was long in abeyance”. Scholars further speculated whether his should be regarded as an empty boat set afloat by the successors of Samudragupta as there has been an almost uninterrupted tradition of the Asvamedhas from Sanapati Pusyamitra. The phrase in reality means “one who had performed an extensive Asvamedha which lasted for a long time”. His grandson Kumaragupta also performed an Asvamedha. Dharasena in Gujarat, Sthitavarmman and Bhutivarmman in Assam and Ayasobhita II the Sailodbhava king of Orissa, as also his son, continued the tradition.

These congregational sacrifices particularly which partook of royal characteristics such as Asvamedha, Rajasuya etc. were little heard of during early medieval period in Northern India. Is it not strange that sacrifices which were performed just before this period and even during this period in south, were not at all celebrated here after the seventh century A.D.? In south, the Chalukya king Pulakesi I, Chola ruler Rajadhiraja I, the Yadava chief Krishna (1247-60) and others performed sacrifices. The *Prithviraja raso* of course, credits Jayachandra with the performance of the Rajasuya-yajna as a mark of universal supremacy, but neither of the *Rambha-Manjari*, a contemporary literary work in which Jayachandra fills the role of hero nor ample available archaeological data supports the claim. There is, however, some reliable evidence for the celebration of Asvamedha sacrifice by Jayasimha of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.), but that can hardly prove the popularity of congregational sacrifices in Northern India during early medieval period.

General decline in congregational sacrifices is further confirmed by contemporaneous literature. Udayana (948 A.D.) says explicitly that the Rajasuya and Asvamedha sacrifices were not at all celebrated in his age, as they were "completely extirpated" and he further surmised on the basis of sacrificial references in the Vedic literature that they in olden times must have been quite in vogue. Vardhamana, the logician of the thirteenth century A.D., repeats the statement. *Puranas*, similarly describe the abandonment of sacrificial rituals in *Kali*. Kings, of course, in several inscriptions were extolled to have set up "the rows of *yupas*" but in several instances the word *yupa* is used in its regarded sense of "victory pillars".

From the sixth century A.D. epigraphs occasionally mention the decline of Vedic activities in kali age. From the eleventh century the theory that *dharma* though previously quadruped had been reduced to the straits of monopod by kali (*tapa*,

jnana and *yajana* had become obsolete) is used in rhetorical eulogies of kings and cities in inscriptions. The theory finds reference in classical and philosophical literature of North in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The epigraphic data suggest that the theory was developed in Northern India sometime by the sixth century A.D. and indicated that the *yajnas* had become things of the past. We can understand in the context why some of the authorities have regarded 'Asvamedha' as prohibited in Kali while others do not agree. Though sacrifices to be performed by kings involving huge expenditure and considerable time became gradually extinct, individual and also some short congregational sacrifices were sporadically performed by the Brahmanas in this period. Thus, there is some evidence that four of the seven *haviryajias* *Agnyahotra*, *Sautramani*, *Pasubandha* and also some of the *Soma* sacrifices (which are congregational) such as *Agnistoma* were performed by the Brahmanas.

Some Brahmanas in copper-plates are sometimes described as *satatagnihotrah* ("one who daily performs *agnihotra* sacrifice") or *agnyahitah* (who has performed *Agniyathya* sacrifice). Inscriptions describing the *argahara* villages inhabited by the Brahmanas make explicit references to the performance of *Avasathya*, *Agnyahadhana*, *Agnihotra*, *Sautramani*, *Caturmasya*, *Agnistoma* and *Pasubandha* sacrifices. The *Rewa Inscription of Malayasimha*, K.S. 944 is very interesting as it describes the rows of wooden *yupas*, the form of the *vedikas* and thereby suggests the performance of *Soma* sacrifices by Brahmanas of the *argahara* village Karnavati.

Surnames of Brahmanas like *Diksita*, *Agnihotrin* and *Avasthi* also confirm the suggestion. *Diksita* as an epithet occurs as early as tenth century A.D. It is found in the epigraphs of the Somavamsi king of Orissa, the Rastrakuta inscriptions of Gujarat and in the records of the Paramaras, the Chandellas, the Chedis and the Gahadavalas, *Agnihotrin* figures in

inscriptions of the Bhanjas (Orissa), the Paramaras, and the Chandellas. The word *Agnihotra* occurs in *Inder CP. of Skandagupta* not as an epithet but as an ordinary description of the done. 'Avasthi' or 'Avasthika' is mentioned in the grants of the Chedis, the Chandellas, the paramaras and the Gahadavalas. All these became hereditary surnames from the twelfth century A.D. and consequently lost all significance. Earlier a person was entitled 'Diksita' only when he performs the *Diksaniya Isti*. Scriptures prescribe a set of rules which regulate the conduct of 'diksita' concerning meals etc. Similarly 'Avasthi' and *Agnihotrin* respectively meant those Brahmanas who performed regularly *Agnihotra* and tended 'Avasthika' fire. Evidence of Alberuni is quite interesting in this context. He says "those Brahmanas who kept fire were called 'Istins'; those who-kept three were called 'Agnihottrins'". Further he adds, "If he, besides, makes an offering to the fire he is called 'Diksita'". The *Atrismrti* confirms the statement of the Arabic traveller.

Surnames, thus, indicate that the Brahmana at least upto twelfth century A.D. celebrated the individual sacrifices like *Agnihotra*, tended *Avasathika* fires performed 'Diksaniya Isti'. Literary evidence also supports this conclusion.

The testimony of 'purpose', generally mentioned in copperplate grants, indicates quite clearly the gradual decline of the Vedic rituals and the growing popularity of the smarta activities. Grants were sanctioned either as a *daksina* on the occasion of the smarta rituals or on holy days. Grants of second category were made in the records of the Katakchhuris (595 A.D.), the Gurjjaras (648 A.D.), the Rastrakutas for subsidising the 'srautasmartha' rituals, with one important exception of the *Cambay C.P. of Govind V*, where the grant was made to enable the Brahmanas to perform Vedic sacrifices like *Rajhasuya*, *Vajapeya*, *Agnistoma* *Darsa-Paurnamasa* etc. We have already seen that Vedic sacrifices were being performed in south during this period and hence the *Cambay*

CP. can at the most show that these *yajnas* were celebrated sometimes in Gujarat because of the Rashtrakuta influence. In the later records the gifts were made sometimes “for according the merit attendant on giving the land as described in the Purnanas” or as a *daksina* at the end of the recital of the *Mahabharata* and mostly for no specific purpose but “for increase in merit of the parents”.

Thus, in conclusion it may be said that the Vedic activities in general though were on decline, the Brahmanas continued to perform individual, and also minor and short congregational *yajnas* although they received but scant encouragement from the state for it.

The opposition or the criticism of the Vedic activities is not found explicitly in epigraphs. But three records all belonging to the Chahamanas dynasty issued within a period of less than forty years and found in Jodhapur at Sevadi, Kiradu and Ratnapur, give a glimpse of the struggle between the orthodox Vedic Brahmanas and the Jains on the question of the performance of animal sacrifices. The first inscription found at Sevadi praised at length the religious activities of the Brahmanas which consisted in the study of the *Vedas* and the *smrtis* as also in the performance of the Vedic sacrifices *Avasthya*, *Agnihotra*, *Sautramani* and *Pasubandha*. In the last two sacrifices animals are killed. The remaining two edicts, one of which is dated in 1209 V.S., though issued by the Chahamanas rulers were made public through the Jain Sravakas Putiga and Saliga by name. The edicts highly praise the *abhaya-dana* (immunity from being killed) and strictly prohibit the killing of animals on specified days under the penalty of fine for persons belonging to the royal family and of capital punishment for others. This order was binding on the Brahmanas and the *Acaryas* also. Literature bears testimony to this struggle in the Western India and the Deccan at least from the tenth century A.D. Somadeva, who composed the *Yasastilaka-campu* in 959 A.D. somewhere in Dharwar or

the Western most districts of the Hyderabad state, beautifully depicts the controversy, though the lack of definitive knowledge of the Vedic sacrifices and the communal prejudice are apparent in the dialogue of Yosodhara who carpingly criticises the *yajnas* and his mother who is represented as a deluded old lady fallen in the vicious path of the Vedic sacrifices. He makes a pointed reference to the *Sautramani* sacrifices mentioned in the *Sevadi Inscription* although he makes a wrong statement regarding its procedure. The *Padmacarita* (seventh century A.D.) and the *Harivamsa Purana* join the tirade against animal sacrifices.

Thus, if the order for non-slaughter of animals was meant to prohibit the killing of animals in sacrifices also which were known to be prevalent in that area during that time from *Sevadi Inscription*, we may conclude that the movement of the Jains against animal sacrifices was crowned with success in Rajaputana during the reign of Kumarapala Solanki.

If archaeology bears evidence to the opposition of the Vedic sacrifices by the heretics, it also testifies to the existence of the assimilating tendencies of the Agamic cults, which manifested themselves from very early times. *The Bhuvanesvara (Ananta-Vasudeva Temple) Inscription of Bhatta Bharadeva* mentions *Yajna-purusa* as a name of Visnu. The *Bhagavata* relates the story of the incarnation of Visnu as *yanja* and this was most probably the reason for Visnu's being named as *yajna-Purusa*. The anthropomorphic form of *yajna* as *Yajna-Purusa* is described in the *Vaikhanasagama* as an *avarana* devata (side-deity) to be installed in the first *avarana* at the south-west corner with two heads, four horns, three legs, seven hands and adorned with ornaments. This form of *Yajna-Purusa* is based upon the Vedic conception occurring in a *mantra* of *Veda* explained by Yaska and Sayana where *yajna* is represented as a bellowing bull with two heads, four horns, seven hands and three legs.

The Damodara Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Buddhagupta mentions the god *Sveta-Varahasvami* which can only be identified with the *Yanja-Varahasvami* of the *Vaikhanasagama* which differentiates the *Yanja-Varatha* of white complexion from *Adi-Varatha* and *Pralaya-Varaha* who are to be represented as blue. *Varaha* being the manifestation of the *yajna* described in details in the *Bhagavata* is called *Yajna-Varaha*.

Thus, the *yajnas* were being criticised, on one hand, by the heretics and on the other they were being identified with various forms of *Visnu* and were being worshipped by the Agamikas. Beside worshipping the *yajnas* as incarnations of *Visnu*, the Agamikas also recognised it as a form of *ijya*. The *Vaikhanasagama* regards sacrifices as "formless worship" and the *Isanasivagurupaddhati* enlists four forms of sacrifices (1) Vedic, (2) Saiva, (3) Vaisnava and (4) *Kamyaja* (sacrifices performed for the satisfaction of desires). This would not only indicate that the *Agamas*, whose predominant characteristics was worship, had recognised sacrifices as a form of *ijya* but also that they differentiated the Vedic *yajnas* from the Agamic *yajnas*. Epigraphs vouchsafe the prevalence of the Agamic fire-oblations also. Thus, Manoratha (sometime before S.S. 1059) the modern Kalidasa, used to throw "duly fire-oblations three times a day at the worship of the mooncrested god". Madhumati, the abode of the Saiva-saiddhantikas "was full of peacocks shrieking and dancing in joy at the rise of clouds...formed by the mass of smoke of sacrifices". Probodha siva, the Saiva pontiff of Mattamayura lineage "was like Kumara whose one hand was versed in pouring libations on high tongue of fire...and who was favourite of Siva."

The beginning in the Agamic affiliation of *yajnas* as evidenced by archaeology dates back to the first century B.C. While Vedic sacrifices were being performed "for the satisfaction of Agni" the Allahabad Kosam Yupa Ins. records the

performance of sacrifice for the “blessings of Mahesvara”, and further describes construction of a Saiva temple and the establishment of a sattrā. Similarly *Barnala Jaipur Ins.* mentions the celebration of the *Gargatiratra* sacrifices so that Visnu may be pleased. The *Bijayayadh Bayana Yuna Ins.* (373-3 A.D.) commemorates the performance of the Paundarika sacrifice “for increase in the pleasure of the family”. The *Nandsa Yupa Ins.* does not mention any *samkalpa* but notes that the *yajna* was performed after building the temples of Brahma, Indra, Prajapati and Visnu. The *samkalpa* and the antecedents of the performance of these sacrifices indicate unmistakably the Agamic influence. The *Insapura Mathura Ins.* narrates the celebration of the Vedic *yajna* as it ends with the desire that *Agni* may be pleased. Similarly the *Bijayagadh Bayana* seems to be a *kamyaja* sacrifice.

Sama Veda Brahmanas

The *Tandya-*, or *Maha-*, or *Panchavinsa- Brahmana*, edited in the Bibilotheca Indica, with Sayana’s Commentary, by Pandit Ananda Chundra Vedantavagisa. See Dr. R.L. Mitra’s *Chhandogya Upan-Intro.* p. 11.

The *Shadvinsha Brahmana*, with Sayana’s Commentary, an English translation, &c. by A.C. Burnell, Ph. D., was advertised in 1877, *in preparation*. The original is edited with Sayana’s Commentary by Pandit Satyavrata Samsrami, but without translation. Price one rupee. The last part of it, the *Abhutadhyaya Brahmana* has been edited and translated into German and explained by Dr. Weber, in his *Zwei Vidishche Texte uber Omina aund Portenta* (4to. Berlin, 1859). Dr. Burnell’s english has not appeared.

The *Samavidhana Brahmana*, edited together with Sayana’s Commentary and Introduction by A.C. Burnell, Ph.D.: London, Trubner, 1873. Vol. I. The second volume (Translation, Notes and Indexes) was also promised in 1877. There is an edition

of this, the third Brahmana, published in Calcutta with Sayana's commentary and a *Bengali* translation, by Pundit Satyavrata Samasrami, price five Rupees. 500 slokas. Manuals containing the rites and recitations prescribed by the Samvidhana for persons who desire offspring in which the Sama texts are quoted in full, are in circulation in MS. and in print.

The *Vansha* Brahmana, edited and translated into German by Professor Weber in I.S. iv. 371-386; also together with Sayana's Commentary by A.C. Burnell, Ph. D., Mangalore, 1873; and also with Sayana's Commentary and *Bengali* translation, by Pundit Satyavrata Samasrama, Calcutta Price 1/- This Brahmana, Sayana calls "the 8th and last." 40 slokas. Genealogy of the Sama Veda Rishis and their descendants.

The *Arsheya* Brahamana, the Sanskrit text, edited together with extracts from Sayana's Commentary, &c., an Introduction and index of words by A.C. Burnell, Ph.D., Mangalore, 1876; also edited with Sayana's Commentary, by Pundit Satyaavrata Samasrama. Price five Rupees : 300 slokas.

The *Devatadhyaya* Brahmana, edit with Sayana's Commentary, Index of words, &c., by A.C. Burnell, Ph.D., Mangalore, 1873; also edited with Sayana's Commentary and a *Bengali* translation by Pundit Satyavrata Samasrami, Calcutta, Price Re. 1.

The *Samhitopanish* Brahmana, edited with a Commentary an Index of words, &c., by A.C. Burnell, Mangalore, 1877.

The *Mantra* or *Chhandogya*- Brahmana in ten books, eight of which are published as the Chhandogya-Upanishad, in the Bibliotheca Indica, edited by Dr. Roer and translated by Dr. R.L. Mitra. These same 8 books are translated in Vol. 1, of the S.B.E. as properly an Upanishad. As such they are outside our present study. The first two books were discovered by Pundit Satyavrata Samasrai a few years ago and edited, annotated, translated into *Bengali* and published in Calcutta,

price Rs. 4. It is Sayana's sixty Brahmana.

The *jaiminiya*, or *Talavakara* Brahman was, only a few year ago, discovered (to European scholars) in Southern India by Dr. Burnell. A part of it was previously known as the *Talavakara*, or *Kena Upanishad*, edited and translated by Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*; and translated by Prof. Max Muller in Vol. I. of the *S.B.E.* pp. 147-156; *cf.* *Introd.* pp. lxxxix. ff. An account of the Brahmana proper is given by Prof. Whitney in the *American Oriental Society's Proceedings* at Boston, May, 1883.

The *Satyayana* Brahmana, quoted by Sayana (see Max Muller *R.V.*, Vol. V. pp. xix. ffg.), seem to be lost.

The *Bhallavi* Brahmana, one of the old Brahmanas, according to Panini, seems also to be lost; and so of others.

Samavidhana-Brahmana

The *Samavidhana* Brahmana differs from the *Atareya*, *Kaushitaki*, and *Satapatha* Brahmanas in that it lacks both the copiousness of matter and the systematic arrangement which characterise them. In it we find "merely a dry set of precepts arranged in an orderly series," in place of "the reasons (true or imagined) for any particular practice which from the most remarkable feature of the great Brahmanas." But Dr. Burnell adds "Here and there a passage remains which is of the true Brahmana character; such is the incantation of the goddess Night, and the dialogue between the goddess and the magician; there can be little doubt however, that the boon asked for is a later interpolation." Various circumstances make it clear that in its present form, it is not later than the 7th century A.D. or earlier than the 5th century B.C.

The bulk of the work "consists of descriptions of certain penances and ceremonies which are supposed to destroy the evil effects of some actions, and in other cases to bring about result desired by the performer. The first (*tapas* and

prayascitta) from but a small part of the work; the *kamya* rites, or ceremonies of a magical nature fill two out of the three chapters into which the Samavidhana Brahmana is divided....it preserves for us a picture of the beginning of a civilisation and ideas and practices which other nations have in the course of their progress thrown aside, or concealed with shame, and which now exist hardly anywhere on the earth." In a foot-note Dr. Burnell combats the ideas that the degrading forms of modern Hinduism were got from the non-Aryan tribes. The Dravidian races of India (like all tribes with languages that do not denote sex) have only ancestor worship for a religion, and could never (by themselves) get beyond it."

Dr. Burnell has also here a fling at the Missionaries, whom he describes as "narrow-minded," "who were most anxious to prove the working of the devil in all strange customs." He describes their works as "very untrustworthy," and says that their "accounts have been always intended rather for the supporters of Missions and wondermongers than for students...But there is no such accidental or intentional misrepresentations in the Vedic literature." While repudiating the charge here made against Missionaries, we remove all plausibility of any such suspicion against the present work by doing what Dr. Burnell says cannot be chargeable with misrepresentation, and that is giving throughout these notes literal translations, made by Sanskrit scholars who were not Missionaries, and some of whom, like Dr. Burnell, had little sympathy with Missionaries. Let us however proceed with our Brahmana, as expounded by Dr. Burnell.

"Among the ceremonies described in the Samavidhana Brahmana, we find some which are intended to the expiations, not only of sins, but also of crimes, such as murder; and, a little further on, we find other ceremonies of a like nature which are intended to destroy enemies. The inconsistency is removed by the idea that it was the fear of consequences

which led to expiations for the murder of enemies; these consequences being sickness or misfortune in this or in a future life. Of course superstitious ideas and practices were common. "Those described in the Samvidhana belong to what has been called the 'fetish age' but nevertheless, in their combinations they give evidence, of a certain amount of progress and modification."

Dr. Burnell classifies the sins named in the Brahmana before us, as—

1. Teaching an improper person (Sudras, females, &c.) i. 5.10.
2. Sacrificing for an unfit person. i. 5.11.
3. Seeing or smelling impure things. i. 5.12.
4. Eating unclean things. i. 5.13.
5. Committing *upapatakas*. i. 5.14.
6. Drinking spirits. i. 5.15.
7. Intercourse with a Sudra woman, i.6.6.
8. Intercourse with a wife at forbidden seasons. i.8.7.
9. Accepting presents from a king. i.7.1.
10. Receiving forbidden presents. i. 7.2 & 8. 3.
11. Killing a cow. i. 7. 7.
12. Killing any other animal. i.7.8.
13. Breach of chastity by a Brahmacharin. i.7.9.
14. Marrying while an elder brother is unmarried. i. 7.10.
15. Serving a Vaisya or Sudra. i. 7. 12-13.
16. Untruthfulness towards a Brahman. i. 7.15.
17. Selling certain articles, i. 8. 1-2. and
18. Laziness. i. 8.6.

"Great restrictions are also placed upon the occupations that a Brahman is allowed to follow; and serving in temples is added to the list of degrading professions. Trade, however,

permitted in times of distress.” Sins and crimes are not distinguished in our Brahmana, but certain acts were supposed to require an expiation, and certain others were supposed to have a magical effect. Various facts seem to make it clear that the community was in a nomad state not under a king, as at the time of the *Dharma Shastra* ordeals seem to have been trusted more than witnesses.

A good deal of space is given to the manufacture of amulets and the performance of magical ceremonies to destroy enemies. Sacrifices were offered with the view of forming, for the performers, new bodies in the ‘other world’, a process not very unlike the building of a house. “Of worship and sacrifice, as Europeans and Semitic races understand the words, there is absolutely, nothing,” says Dr. Burnell. “These so-called sacrifices are also complicated with much recital of verses and subsidiary rites to secure to the performer abundance of wealth, food, cattle, good luck, &c., and are therefore of precisely the same character as the magical ceremonies described in the Samavidhana Brahmana. But apart from this and the Chapters of the Shadvinsha Brahmana and the Kausika Sutra, which treat of omens and potents, there are innumerable instances of similar ceremonies. The Atharva Veda is full of magical verses, some to remove disease, cause hair to grow on bald heads, and to abate the nuisance caused by vermin...The incredible filthiness of some of these symbolical and magical rites is almost beyond belief, and the first part of the Aitareya—Aranyaka rivals the most obscene Tantras of the worshippers of Shakti.

The elements of Astrology, intimately allied to magic, are met with in the Samvidhana Brahmana in the directions given concerning the seasons and constellations when sacrifices were to be performed; and many of the best known magical practices said to have been used in former times in Europe are recognisable in the Samvidhana. One of the most remarkable of these, known to this day in the darkest parts of

Europe, is that of making a wax figure, which is melted over or near a slow fire, so causing the death of an enemy, whose life wastes as the image wastes away. This was known to the Romans (Horace, Ep. 17,76) and also to be Germans and other European races. According to the Samavidhana "the image of the person to be destroyed or afflicted is made of dough and roasted, so as to cause the moisture to exude and then cut in pieces and eaten by the sorcerer. So also we find here amulets and other means of obtaining power over persons, such as love charms and talismans to preserve the wearer not only against misfortune, but also against attacks of enemies and of animals, such as snakes. But the peculiar importance of the Samavidhana Brahmana is that it contains a complete view of the Indian superstitions, drawn up at a time when they were extensively practised," and believed in. These superstitions affected even the sacrifices which could only be performed only in the bright fortnight. In the Samavidhana, besides the Pitris or Manes, and the Pishacas or ghosts, there are the Apsaras, Rakshasas and similar imaginary beings. The mentioning of certain things, the boasting of one's luck, &c., were regarded as unlucky, as apt to excite malicious beings into sinister activities.

This, our third Brahmana of the Sama Veda, contains a rich store of legends indicative of the gradual development of Brahmanical theology. The reference to "Krishn Devakiputra" is significant. "Here he is yet but a scholar, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, belonging perhaps to the military caste. He certainly must have distinguished himself in some way or other, however, little we know of it, otherwise his elevation to the rank of deity, brought about by external circumstances, would be inexplicable." In a foot-note Weber expresses the opinion that mythical relations to Indra, &c., are at the root of this elevation. "Krishna worship proper *i.e.*, the sectarian worship of Krishna as the one God, probably attained its perfection through the influence of Christianity."

In the Aranyaka of the Brahmana we find for the first time in Sanskrit literature the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and that in a tolerable complete form; and here also for the first time in Vedic literature the name of Rahu, the eclipse monster; circumstances regarded as evidence of the comparatively recent date of its composition.

Sambharas

The key mythic associations of the *vv* as *sambharas* are with procreation and fructification, with nourishing strength and life itself. The physical *vv* itself then must also represent these properties.

In the initial rite in the *śrauta* corpus, the Agnyadheya or establishment of the sacred fires, the *vv* is employed as one of a number of earthen *sambharas* or ingredients in the construction of the fireplaces (*agnyayatana*) MS 1. 6.3 notes that the *vv* is “imperishable” or “underfired by death” (*anabhimrta*); that it is the “sap” and “strengthening nourishment” (*rasa, urj*) of the earth which has risen up, becoming the breast of Prajapati. Homologies in this passage are implicit and explicit. Implicitly the *vv* is scattered upon (*upakira*) the altar and Agni is established (*agnim adhani*). Explicitly, the *valmika* is identified with Prajapati’s breast (*prajapater va esistao yad valmmiko*). The reasons for the explicit homology are clearly indicated from the context: not only has the *valmika* become raised up (*udaisat*), but it contains in the form of the *vv* *rasa* and *urj*. As the breast contains the nourishing milk. The *valmika* contains the *vv*. Another passage KS 8.2 (cf. KapS 6.7, Kath A 2.11), associates life itself with the *vv*. Similarly TB 1.2.1 5 exclaims, “May we live a hundred length (*purucih*) years (because) we are gathering the nourishing strength/sap from the earth. TB 1. 1. 3. 4 and TA 5.2.8 state that the termites (*upadika*) “smear up (*uddihanti*) *rasa*, which is *urj*, from the earth. This indicates that the nourishing strength or sap

is, at least insofar as manifested in the termite mound, sticky or congealed matter. This is consistent with the usual note on that life-giving substances are wet rather than dry. Thus in this case it is possible that damp or sticky earth, displaced from the tunnels inside the *valmika* and thrown up by them on to the top and outside, constitute the *vapa*, which is then strewn over the fireplaces.

ApSS 5. 9. 8 and BharSS 5. 5. 5 prescribe the completion of the action as he performed with the *vv* in the Agnyadheya: "He (the *adhvaryu*) scatters (*nivapati*) the *valmikavapa* over the *garhapatya* fireplace (with this verse): That (part) of the earth which is imperishable has become united with you; Agni has given it to Agni; let this (fire) be deposited within it." In other words, the imperishable earth, ultimately identified with Agni, is thrown by the termites out of the perishable earth. Mythically identified with this, the nourishing, life-giving sap milked by the ritualist from the breast of Prajapati is strewn over the *garhapatya*, promoting the fructification of the sacrifice. However, is this imperishable earth thrown up by the termites the same as that which is strewn over the fireplaces as the *vv*? According to many of the ritual traditions it is (ss n. 21). There would be no contradiction, though, if this imperishable earth were not identical with the material strewn over the fireplaces. Another candidate exists, to be discussed below, which may be extracted or forcibly removed from a termite mound by the ritualist and broken up before scattering it over the fireplaces and altar. In any event, the *vv* is not mixed with the other *sambharas* in order to form a homogeneous clay or adobe with which the fireplaces are actually constructed; but is sprinkled on top.

In discussions of the Agnyadheya, the Vedic texts also identify the termite mound as an auditory channel into the secrets of the earth. TB 1. 2. 1. 6 says, "O Earth, your ear is found in the caverns by the termites; may we not become deaf. Thus (he addresses) the *valmikavapa*." Note that in this case the

valmika and the *vv* are regarded as identical. TB 1. 1. 3. 4—5 adds. “Now (it is) indeed the ear; it, namely the *valmika*, is indeed the ear of the earth. He who thus knows this does not become deaf.” The presence on termite mounds of holes or tunnels (*guhah*, i.e. “caverns”) up to an inch in diameter, that open to the sky, is undoubtedly the reason why the *valmika* is said to be the ear of the earth. Thus in the Agnyadhya the prominent images are of the *vv* as the sap of Prajapati’s breast and the *valmika* both the breast and the earth’s ear. In the case of the *valmika*, the protruding shape, as well as its nourishing interior, contribute to these identities.

The Mahavira Pot: The *mahavira* pot is made from various earthen ingredients and, filled with milk, is heated up during the Pravargya, a fairly lengthy ritual requiring extensive Rgvedic and Samavedic chanting. This rite must be performed at least six times prior to the performance of any Soma sacrifice. One of the earthen ingredients required for the *mahavira* is a *vv*. The texts which prescribe and discuss the *vv* as a *sambhara* for the *mahavira* introduce three important notions: the divinity of termites, the connection of the *vv* with the severed head of the sacrifice, and the identity of the *vv* as a lump inside the termite mound.

Regarding the first two points, TA 4. 2. 3(df. KathA I. 11, II. 11), prescribed by the sutras, says, “O divine termites, you, the righteous, are the first-born of this creation.” SB 14. 1. 2. 10 says the *adhvaryu* takes a *vv* and places it on a black antelope skin with the mantra VS 37.4; “You O divine termites, who were the first-born of creation, may I prepare for you today the head of Makha on the god’s sacrificial ground for the earth. (O *valmika-vapa*, for Makha (I take) you, (I take) you for the head of Makha.” This mantra is used says SB, “for it was they that produced this: just in accordance with the way in which the head of the sacrifice was there cut off, he now supplies and completes it with those (termites)” (Eggeling, *SBE* 44:450). Thus, the three elements of the

termite mound complex are regarded as divine: the termites themselves, as the first-born of creation, the mound, which is identified with Prajapati's breast and the Earth's ear, and the imperishable *vapa*. Now, in the ritual context, a tripartite association is revealed between the *mahavira*, the termite mound complex, and the head of Makha, the head of the sacrifice.

With regard to the third point, the identity of the *vv*, Mahidhara comments on VS 37.4 that the *vv* is *vapa*-like in the sense that it is a lump inside the *valmika* (*madhyastham lostam*). The Kausikasutra (8.16), a much more ancient source than the medieval comentator Mahidhara, also says *valmikavapa valmikamadhyam*. Furthermore, SB 6.3. 3. 5, while discussing the role of the *vv* in the Agnicayana (see below), qualifies *vv* with the word *susira*, 'hollow'. While it has been shown that the *vv* employed in the Agnyadheya could be either earth that termites have thrown or removed is the outside of the *valmika* from an original location inside the mound, or substance taken from inside the mound, here it appears that the *vapa* is not surface soil, but an inner lump.

As an important relic of a sacred place transferred from its souce to another location, either earth taken directly from the surface of the moved or crushed portions of an inner lump-like substance, most likely a nest would have sufficed for inclusion as a *sambhara*. However, the rituals themselves appear to provide scope for a more certain interpretation. Just as the *vapa* of a goa is subcutaneous, the *vapa* of the *valmika* is also below the surface. Upon examination, we discovered that inside the mound there are indeed hollow covered with and penetrated by tiny cells or hole (plactes 1, 2). The nests are found in various shapes but are mostly hemispheric, as contrasted with the *valmika* itself which rises from the surface of the ground in shapes that evoked phallic and breast images. If, as the evidence from the Vedic ritual indicates, these nests were once identified as *valmikavapa*, then the primary reason

for the semantic association of the two images of the omentum and the nest lies in the location or position of the objects inside, below the skin or soil. Eggeling, however, has another suggestion, namely that the *vv* is the “(omentum-) like inner lump (?surrounded by a kind of net) of an ant-hill” (SBE 44: 450 n. 2). An omentum, however, is not a lump but a thin, curved membrane. Nevertheless Eggeling’s “net” is worth considering as a secondary reason for the semantic association: the webbing of holes on the surface of the termite mound’s nest may have very well evoked to the ritualist the webbed and blistered appearance of the *vapa* as it was fried in the *vapayaga*.

One of the numerous preliminary rites in the Agnicayana is the gathering (*sambharana*) of ingredients for the *ukha* a portable fire-pot with very special meaning that the *yajamana* is supposed to use and even carry for a full year prior to the main rites of the Agnicayana. the ingredients for the *ukha* and its construction are probably based on and thus presuppose the *mahavira* in the Pravargya. However, the gathering of the *vv* as a *sambhara* for the *ukha* is not so straightforward as it is in the Pravargya. However, the gathering of the *vv* as a *sambhara* for the *ukha* is not so straightforward as it is in the Pravargya and is laden with important implications for both the *vv* itself and the sacrifice that are found nowhere else in the ritualists’ discussions of the *vv*.

Passage by a *vv* on the Way to the Clay-Pit: At sunrise, according to BSS, the *yajamana*, *adhvaryu*, and *brahman* proceed east with a horse and a donkey (the latter for eventually carrying back the earthen ingredients). They pass a *vaisya*, who is sitting by, that is posted next to or even protecting, a termite mound. The *vaisya*, addresses the three ritualists, “Men, what are you going to fetch?” The ritualists reply, “In the fashion of the Arigirases, we are going to fetch Agni hidden in the mud (Agni Purisya).” They then proceed toward the clay-pit. After the clay is gathered and the

procession returns to the *yagasala*, the ritualists again approach the *vaisya*. BSS 10.4 describes the scene: “They walk clockwise around the *vaisya*. The *vaisya* asks, *purusah kim bharatha* (‘Gentlemen, what are you carrying?’) The others answer, *agnim purisyam angirasvad bharamah* (‘We are carrying Agni of the earth in the manner of the Angirases’) (TS 4. 1. 2. 2i).”

KSS 16. 2. 3 and SB 6. 3. 3. 4 (on VS 11. 16) prescribe that the *adhvaryu* recites this mantra (read *bharisyama* for the verb) while he gazes at the *anaddhapurusa* (“false-, useless- or mock -mock-man”) rather than at the *vv*. KSS describes the *anaddhapurusa* as a man who has nothing to do with gods, deceased ancestors, or men (*devapitrmanusyanarthaka*). Both the ritual and symbolic juxtaposition of the *vv* and the *anaddhapurusa* suggest the possibility of their correspondence. Bolstering this is the possible play on the words *purisa/purisyā* and *purusa*, and a possible connection between the *anaddhapurusa* and the *avidvat* (*brahmana*) (ignorant Brahman). The latter appears only in the Agnicayana, is associated with the “naturally perforated brick” (*svayamatrnnā*), arguably lies outside the Vedic cult (Staal 1978), and in any case, like the ignorant and useless *anaddhapurusa* reside on its periphery. KS 19.2 describes the encounter between the *advaryu* and the *anaddhapurusa*: “He (the *adhvaryu*) says (to him) whom he meets (viz. the *anaddhapurusa*) ‘We are going to fetch Agni hidden in the mud (Agni Purisyā).’ All men have fire (in them). Verily he appropriates his strength.” Thus the *adhvaryu* appropriates for the Agnicayana the fire and strength of the *anaddhapurusa*. This symbolic identification of the *vv* and the *anaddhapurusa* is important because it demonstrates that in order to render the ritual whole the profane power inherent in one ignorant of the Veda must be appropriated by the ritualist. Not only are the *anaddha-purusa* and the *avaidvat brahmana* afflicted with this attribute—the attribute of ignorance that lies at the periphery of the sacrifice—but it is

apparently shared by the *vaishya*, whose head is eventually cut off and replaced by a *vv*. This is probably why BSS 10.1 lists a *vaishya*, singled out among the four *varnas*, as one (the seventeenth) of nineteen items prescribed as requisites for the preparation of the *ukha* (*vaishyam sapkadaam*).

The ritual action consists of nothing more than a quick salutation. According to BSS 10.1, the procession consisting of ritualists, horse, and donkey circumambulates the *vaishya*, conducting their dialogue with the *vaishya*, as they pass by the termite-mound. However, MS 3. 1. 3 indicates that the ritual announcement is actually directed at the *valmika*, which is here represented by a *vaishya*. More specifically, the dialogue is directed to Prajapati's ear, surely in order to gain his attention, thus securing his approval (and that of the earth, with which Prajapati is here identified) for their subsequent action of digging the earth that then becomes embodied as Agni in the form of the fire altar. MS says, "They say that Agni should be erected after having announced (one's intention) to Prajapati. This, (to Prajapati) at sunrise, striking off the *valmikavapa*, let him say, We shall bear Agni Purisya in the manner of Angiras.' This (earth) indeed is Prajapati. This, (the earth's ear, is the *valmika*. Thus, only after having announced (to Prajapati) does he erect Agni." Thus, according to MS to *adhvaryu* strikes off the *vv*, an action not mentioned in TS or BSS. Furthermore, in MS the distinction between the *valmika* and the *vv* is unclear; possibly the *vapa* here merely indicates the external soil on the *valmika* KS 19.2 reads: "Agni should be erected after having announced (it) to Prajapati. This earth is indeed Prajapati. It (is) the *valmika* which (is) her ear. Having smashed off the *valmikavapa*, he addresses (it). Only after having announced (to Prajapati) strike or smash up". In practice, there can be little difference between the two, in either case the *vv* is struck violently with a spade, freeing it in order to enable the ritualist to continue. TS 5. 1. 2. 5—6 explains somewhat differently: "Prajapati is this (earth); the termite mound is her ear, (With the mantra)

‘We will bear Agni Purisya in the manner of Angiras,’ he says; verily (with this mantra) he appropriates the strength (*vajam*) of him whom he meets. ‘Agni has heralded the beginning of the dawns,’ he says in order to similarly herald (their continued journey eastward, toward the sunrise, toward Agni). On this, ApSS 16. 2. 7.—8 says that the *adhvaryu* “smashes up the *vv* at sunrise and strides forth from the *vv* (eastward) with “Agni (who) has heralded the beginning of the dawns.”

As far as identifying the object *vv* from this passage, Mahadeva Sastri's modern commentary on a practically identical passage in SatSS (11. 1.17.19), the *vv* is a protusion, of which there are many on the termite mound. In view of the use of *apa* \sqrt{han} and *ud* \sqrt{han} , this is unlikely. More likely it is something rooted out of the ground or termite mound after striking it violently.

The vv Placed between the ukha and the ahavaniya: After the *vv* has been extracted and the earth collected for the *ukha*, the ritualists return to the sacrificial enclosure with both items. The collected pile or lump (*pinda*) of earth is placed to the east of the *ahavaniya*, east being the direction of the gods and the sun. Then the *vv* is placed down to the west of the lump of earth, between it and the *ahavaniya*, thus recapitulating the original directional relationship between the *valmika* and the place where the earth was dug out. SB 6. 3. 3. 5 says, “Then a hollow (*susira*) *valmikavapa* is set down midway (between the clay and the *ahavaniya*). (The *adhvaryu*) looks along (*anviksate*) it; for the *valmika-vapa* is this (earth) is these realms. In a note to his translation of this passage, Eggeling remarks on the word *anviksate*, that is to say, he looks at the lump of clay through the hollow part of the ant-hill. (SBE 41: 206, n, 2). We would suggest that this interpretation is correct only if the object used as the *vv* is the broken off tip of one of the protrusions on the termite mound. This protrusion contains the hole through which the

termites enter and leave the mound. As such, it would be a straight passage or tunnel which could be viewed from one end to the other. This could very well have been, for the sake of ease and convenience, the object employed by the ritualists who composed the SB. If so, it signified for these ritualists what is beneath the surface, the inner *vapa* teeming with life. However, if this were the case, it represents continuing confusion within the adhyandina school on this minor point of physical identification. For even Devayajnika, a 16th century commentator on this *sakha*, following KSS, explains the *vv* as an inner part of the *valmika* containing holes. Though Eggeling's suggestion may very well have reflected what some ritualists actually employed to represent the *vv*—a suggestion which receives some confirmation from the above interpretation by Mahadeva Sastri on SatSS—it is more likely that *anviksate* simply referred to the act of the *adhvaryu* more or less lining up the *vv*, which could even be an object such as a termite mound nest, with the sun as he speaks the accompanying mantra.

Though, as we shall explore more fully below, the inner nest of a termite mound is covered with holes (*chidra*), the physical fact is that the nest does not have any natural holes that penetrate through in a straight line, thus rendering it impossible to look through. The holes are a complicated inner network of cells that contain eggs, enabling the ritualist to “look along” (*anviksate*) the *vv* only to a limited extent. Devayajnika's interpretation of KSS as well as the sutra text itself are more clear than SB and probably represent the correct interpretation, though this of course would not preclude some ritualists from actually employing a protrusion on the termite mound, as suggested by Eggeling and Mahadeva Sastri. Devayajnika assumes that the *vapa* of the goat is the model for the *vv*, and that this similarity is predicated on the inner location of each.

Samdhya

At present, among the Hindu orthodoxy, there is one ceremony which is to be performed each day twice, if not thrice. This is the Samthya ceremony which takes its name from an essential feature of the rite, namely the time of day it is to be performed. Samdhya (lit. 'juncture') is observed at the juncture of the three divisions of the day: morning, noon, and evening. The twice-born who today decidates the time at dawn and dusk to Samdhya worship, is doing much the same as his ancestors have done for approximately two and a half millennia. For the current Samdhya ceremony affords a strong link with the most ancient strata of Indian religious traditions. These traditions are found in the literature associated with the different Vedic schools, the compilation of which occurred during the first millenuium B.C. and in isolated instances extended into the first few centuries of the Christian era. Herein are found the earliest description of Samdhya.

Samdhya precedes all other ceremonies of the day, be they regular or special. Thus, Samdhya serves, in the following manner, as an important physical and spiritual purificatory agent:

Having bathed (*snana*), put on a clean garment, having bound the top-knot (*sikha-bandhana*), having taken his seat in a pure place, and, having applied sacred ashes to his body and the sectarian mark on his forehead (*bhasma-dharana*), the worshipper is qualified to perform Samdhya. *Acamana* (sipping of water for internal abultion) and *pranayama* (breath-control) begin the ceremony. These actions are considered to cleanse the body and promote mental stability, bestowing thereby an appropriate ritual attitude and condition upon the worshipper. With the *samkalpa* (declaration of purpose) the worshipper embarks upon the characteristic portions of Samdhya. These are: *marjana*, twice (sprinkling water over oneself while reciting mantras), *mantracaman* (sippings accompanied by repetition of mantras), *aghamasana* (*RV.* 10.190 recited in a

sin-effacing act), *arghya* (offering water in the direction of the sun. The water, held in joined cupped hands, is thrown upwards three times. Each water-offering is accompanied by recitation of *Om*, the Mahavyahritis, the Gayatri mantra (repeated ten, twenty-eight, one hundred eight, or more, times) and *upasthana* (standing to worship the sun with special hymns of prayer appropriate for the three Samdhyas). All but the *samkalpa* and the *aghamarsana* were in practice before c. the 4th C.A.D. Later additions, often from the *puranas* and *tantras*, combined with these components to result in the ritual complexity of modern-day Samdhya.

Today it is believed that performance of Samdhya influences spiritual advancement and promotes well-being. In part no doubt because of the frequent repetition of the Gayatri mantra, the benefits of Samdhya worship are thought to envelop the devotee like a protective amulet: "Evil does not go near him, who bathes daily and does not neglect the practice of Samdhya, just as snakes do not go near Garuda, the chief of the feathered race." (*Karmapradipa* 2.16, 17).

Was it a desire for spiritual gains and personal welfare that fostered the Samdhya ceremony? This paper attempts to determine why and how Samdhya was celebrated in ancient days. Such enquiry has not been previously made even though the availability of adequate textual material makes it feasible. The information comes from Vedic texts and epic, puranic and smrti literature.

The study is based on passages in 27 texts. Over half of these are *Grhya Sutras* and *Dharma Sutras* and *Sastras*; in these the Samdhya is presented in various stages of ritual complexity. Other texts such as the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, *Sadvimsa Brahmana*, *Ramayana*, the *Vayu* and *Visnu Puranas* and several later *smritis* relate a myth bearing upon the nature of Samdhya and why it ought to be performed. The considerable amount of Vedic and post-Vedic documentation on Samdhya falls essentially into two

categories: those passages which delineate the extent of the rite and those which explain its intent. To enquire, then, as to the initial intent of the Samdhya is certainly not a mute question, nor an original one. "The expounders of the Veda say, why does a Brahman worship Samdhya, in the evening sitting, and in the morning standing? What is Samdhya? What is the time of Samdhya? What is the essence of Samdhya?" Thus asks the author of the *Sadvimsa Brahmana*. The answer, mythic in nature, is set forth here to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying religious tradition of a current Hindu ritual. Also it is to demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between myth and ritual which fostered the Samdhya ceremony. For, the ancient Samdhya ritual appears to have been an enactment of an episode described in a solar myth. This myth is so well defined that it may be designated of an episode described in a solar myth. This myth is so well defined that it may be designated as the Samdhya myth. The Samdhya myth prescribes that ritual acts must be performed to effect the defeat of the sun's enemies: only then can the sun rise and stay on course.

Samskasras and the Asramas

The belief that the *samskara* creates a new value in the thing consecrated is to be marked quite early. The following passages might give an idea: "O Indra! Being terrible you have been consecrated for the battle" (VIII.33.8): "O Asvins! you do not injure the boiled milk that is duly consecrated." (V.76.2).

The commonly accepted *samskaras* were 16 according to the Grhayasutras, through their number goes upto 48. Even the 16 are not clearly noted in the Vedic texts; and their full list could be had only from the later period of the Grhyasutras. The aim of the *samskara* being consecration, whatever was consecrated became *medhya*, to use the term from the Vedic context. We shall restrict ourselves here to the Vedic texts

only, as the Sutras are out of the scope. And the Vedic texts as such do not have a fuller reference to the *samskaras*. But a rough idea of some of the *samskaras* can be had from the *Aitareya Br.* in the famous tale of Sunassepa: "When, indeed, the animal (here a boy) has passed the ten days after it becomes *medhya*", which would show the *samskara* after ten days: "When the teeth come it becomes *medhya*; ... when the teeth fall it becomes *medhya*... when the teeth come again it becomes *medhya*; when the Ksatriya takes the armour he becomes *medhya*' (*Ai.Br.* VII.13). The last was the stage of youth. But these do not give any idea of the *samskaras* developed later.

There is no doubt, however, that the *samskaras* mentioned in the *Grhyasutras* must have been prevalent in the Vedic times, though they were recorded later; for, the Vedic texts that record the sacrificial ritual and form the Yajurveda had no propriety to dwell on the domestic rites. Glimpses of these rites could be had at random. Thus the *Rgveda* indicates that at the birth of the child a sacrificial rite was performed (IX. 104.1 "As they protect the child by *yajnas*"). The most prominent of the *samskaras* referred to are the *upanayana* and the *vivaha*. The latter is to be seen at *Rgveda* X.85 and *Atharvaveda* XIV.1. The lustration of the bride is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and also in the *Rgveda*. According to it the bride was made to sit under the yoke-hole, the hole of a chariot-wheel and that of a cart (RV.VIII.91.7 Indra! you have purified Apala (who became the norm of the bride later) through the hole of a chariot-wheel, through that of a cart and through that of the yoke", *yke rathasya khe' anasah khe yugasya*; the same *mantra*, AV. op.cit., v.41; it was to be recited at the marriage acc. to the *Grhyasutras*). The AV. has a detail; according to it a piece of gold was to be tied inside the hole, and it was believed that the water was then the sunwater of fertility, as gold was the symbol of the sun (v.40 *sam te hiranyam sam u santv' apah*).

The RV indicates that the bride was to be selected by the persons from the side of the bride-groom; for it is said that for the marriage of Surya the selectors were the Asvins and Soma was the bride-groom (RV.X.86.9 *somo vadhuyur abhavad asvina-astam ubha vara*). There used to be the marriage-procession (v.13 *suryayah vahatuh pragat*); and people used to greet the new bride with. "Auspicious is the bride; see her (33 *sumangalir iyam vadhur imam pasyata*). The rite of *upanayana* (initiation) is referred to in the AV. (XII.5.4 "The preceptor performing the *upanayana* makes the *brahmacarin* his foetus", *acarya upanayamanah brahmacarinam kurute garbham antah*). The rite is alluded to in the *Sat. Br.* also (XI.5.412) where the symbolism of the temporary death and re-birth of the *brahmacarin* is explained (for further discussion see Dange, *Legends in the Mahabharata*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 194ff). The rite of conception is alluded to at the RV.(X.184.1 *visnur youim kalpayatu tvasta rupani pimsatu... dhata garbham dadhatu*). There is also a faint reference to keeping the second name of the child lest the child be conjured by his first name (*Taitt. Sam.* VI.3.1.3, Hence does the Brahmana bear two names for prosperity, *tasmad vai dvi-nama brahmano bhavati rdhukah*; cf. also *Sat. Br.* III.6.24 *tasmad brahmano 'nrdhyamo dvitiam nama kurvita*).

The Funeral rites have been recorded with some details in the Vedic texts. The corpse was led to the cremation (or burial) ground where it was cremated or buried. Both these methods are referred to (RV.X.15.11 where the manes are invited to attend the funeral of the freshly dead person, "O manes that were consumed by the fire, come here, *agnisvatta pitara eha gacchata*). There is clear mention of the two types (RV X.15.14 *ye agni-dagha ye an-agni-dagdhah*). At one place the corpse is addressed thus, "Go near and enter the earth, the mother" (RV.X.18.10 *upa sarpa mataram bhumim*). According to some scholars such references suggest the buying of the jar of bones (cf. also RV VII.89.1, "May I not

go the house of clay", *mrnamayam grham*). In the method of cremation, it was also customary to sacrifice a goat and place it with the corpse (RV X. 16.4 said to the fire, "burn this goat by your heat", *ajo bhagas tapasa san tapasva*). Some of the things used by the deceased were to be burnt along with him; and, in the case of a Ksatriya, a bow was laid beside him and taken away by a near relative (RV.X.18.9 *dhanur hastad adadano mrtasya*). If the wife was alive, she was made to lie near the corpse and made to get up to go back to the house (see under, "No Burning of Widows").

In the case of a person who kept the three fire for life (and, hence, was the *ahitagni*), a cow was killed and her hide was placed as a cover for the body; this cow was called *anustarani*. Three fires were placed at the east; and they were watched. It was a good omen if all touched the pyre at the same time (*Sat. Br. XII.5.2.9-12*). The bones were collected in jars, which had the respective shape as the deceased was a male or a female (*Asvalayabna Gr. Su. IV.5.4* which says that for the female the jar should have breast-like elevations, *alaksane kumbhe pumamsam slaksanayam striyam*). When the bones were buried (or the corpse itself was buried) a stone was to be placed to separate the dead from the living (RV.X.18.4 *imam jivebhyah paridhim dadhami*, where *paridhi* should, in fact, indicate a circle of stones). It appears that for children below five years a canoe funeral was practised (RV.X.135.4 *sam ito navy ahitam*; for further discussion, Smt. Dange S.S., *Summaries of Papers*, All India Or, Conf. Charwad, 1976).

The mention of the Brahmacharin in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* is a clear proof that this stage of life was known (RV.X.109.5 "The Brahmacharin moves among all etc.", there is no other reference to Brahmacharin in the *Rgveda*; the same verse occurs in the AV.V.17.5a; but as we have seen, in the AV there is a clear context of the *samskara* of *upanayana* and the mention of the Brahmacharin). The development of the later scheme of the *asrama-s* does not become manifest

till the time of the Upanisads. The *Maitrayani Up.* (IV.3) and the *Cchandogya Up.* (VIII.5) refer to the Brahmacharin and a Grhastha. The *Garhapatya* is, however, mentioned in the *Rgveda* (X.85.36 "I hold your hand...; the gods have given you to me for *garhapatya*").

Thus, these two *asramas* alone find express mention in the earlier Vedic texts. The *Vanaprastha* and the *Samnyasa* do not find mention in them. All the four *asramas* are first mentioned in the *Aitareya Br.* (VII.11, in the context of the tale of Sunasepa, "What the dirty wear, what the deer-skin what the beard, what the penance; O Brahmanas! desire the son alone"), where the words deer-skin, bearded (and moustache) and penance are indicative of respectively the Brahmacharya, Samnyasa and the *Chandogya Upanisads* "Sacrifice, study and giving away gifts is the first stage, penance is the second, staying in the house of the preceptor as a Brahmacharin is the third, (the fourth is) staying in Brahmanectre" (*Cchand. Up.* II.23.1), where we have the idea of the Grhastha, Vanaprastha, Brahmacharya and the Samnyasa respectively. The most perfect is the reference in the *Jabala Up.*: "After finishing the *Brahmacharya* one should be the *grhi*; after being the *grhi* one should become the *vani*; becoming the *vani* one should renounce the world" (IV).

Sanhito-Upanishad Brahmana

The *Sanhito-Upanishad Brahmana* consists of a single chapter in five brief sections. Dr. Burnell remarks that from a literary point of view the text is worthless, but that the first three sections furnish some interesting information, "more especially" "the first traces of the systematic study of the Saman or chant." In his "Andria Grammarians" pp. 26, 34, &c., Dr. Burnell has shown that "the beginnings of all Indian science are to be sought for in the Brahmanas.

"The first section treated of the fancied effects of recitation in different ways. The second and third section show the first

stage in the process of analysis of the relation between the Saman and the words, subsequently so developed that nothing like it can anywhere be found. Chimerical effects are attributed to musical peculiarities in the chant.” “The fourth section,” Dr. Burnell states, “is brief, and that is the only merit that can be attributed to it, for it is on the never failing topic of the merit of particular presents to a religious teacher. Disquisitions of this kind abound *ad nauseam* in Sanskrit literature of all periods, and exhibit a strange phase of the Hindu mind. To a foreigner it is simple impossible to understand how men who could occupy themselves in grammatical analysis and metaphysics with such success as has been done in India could condescend to such puerilities as imaging the effects of all kinds of presents from a paltry mess of gruel up to impossible sums of money... The most perfunctory observation of actual fact would soon have dispelled such illusions as occur in this section, but they command belief even in the present day. The last section is pure mysticism, to most of which it seems impossible to attach any precise meaning.”

Sanim Sasanivamsam

On carefully going through the expositions of this Sutra given by the commentators it is noticed that the available Vedic data has not been fully utilised so far. Hence an attempt is made here to present the entire material available on this point. Panini records *sasanivamsam* as an anomalous instance of the perfect active participle.

Patanjali has not discussed this Sutra in his *Mahabhasya*. The *Kasika* states that the form is obtained from *san*. (1.P/8P) ‘gain’ and explains that its anomalous nature consists in the addition of the augment -i- to the perfect stem and in the absence of substitution of *e* in the place of the radical vowel and in the retention of the reduplication of the initial syllable. The significance of the sequence of words in the Sutra as pointed out by the *Padamanjari* is further elucidated in the

Nyassa thus: The enumeration of the participle in the accusative preceded by the cognate object *sanim* is indicative of its environment and implies a fixed word-order which is confined to the Veda only. This means that in the Veda *sasanivamsam* occurs only when it is preceded by *sanim*. Conversely, i.e, when *sanim* does not precede, states the *Kasika*, the regular form *senivamsam* would be used in the Veda. The *Kasika* further adds that the same form is used in the (secular language also. However, it is to be observed that in the extant Vedic literature there is no attested occurrence of *senivamsam* mentioned in the *Kasika*. Moreover, Kasikakara's reference to the usage in the secular language appears to be merely hypothetical, for, the literary records indicate that *san-* has become extinct in later Sanskrit.

As an instance of the form mentioned in the Sutra the *Kasika* cites the passage: आजिं स्वाने सनिं ससनिवांसम्. This citation, which, as given in the editions of the *kasika*, is found to be corrupt, is a fragment of the mantra given in the *ManSS* and the *Vass* belonging to the Maitrayaniya recension of the Black Yajurveda. The mantra is as follows:

आजिं त्वाने ससुवांसं, सिनं ससनिवांसं, देवेभ्यो हव्यमोहिवांसं, वाजिनं त्वा वाजजितं वाजजित्यायै संमार्जि, अग्ने वाजमजैः (जैषीः *VarSS*) *Man* 1.3.4.2, *VarSS* 1.3.5.16 'O Agni, thou who hast run the race, has won the reward, has brought oblations to the gods, I wipe thee, swift, winner of the contest, for winning the contest. O Agni, thou hast won the contest.'

According to the prescription given in the Sutas, after the sacrificer has distributed the Anvaharya rice among the officiating priests at the New and Full-moon sacrifices, the Agnidhra, directed by the Adhvaryu, brushes up the ahavaniya fire and addresses it with the present mantra. This mantra is the counterpart of the mantra with which, after the offering of the first Aghara libation of the Adhvaryu, the Agnidhra had previously brushed up the Ahavaniya fire. It may be noted that here the continuity of the eritual is maintained by means

of the employment of future participles in the first mantra and of the corresponding perfect participles, coming in the same order, in the second one, as attributes of Agni.

Although the mantra under discussion is missing in the extant *Maitr Sam*, its emploment by both the Sutras leaves no doubt regarding its authenticity as belonging to that recension. The general pattern of the corresponding mantra in the Taittiriya recension, which is faithfully reproduced by the Sutrakaras of the school, is practically the same exception a few changes in details. The simple version of the VS(M) and VS(K) contains only two attributes of Agni. It may be noted that the attribute *sanim sasanivamsam* has no other occurrence in the entire Vedic literature.

Noteworthy is the following version of the mantra : वाजं त्वाग्ने जिगीवांसं ससन्वांसं संमन्वांसं संमर्ज्मि वाजमजैरिति । *Vait S 4.2*. Provided the reading of the Sutra is authentic, the variant *sasanvamsam*, remarkable for the absence of the augment -i- after the perfect stem and of the preceding *sanim*, would be a more appropriate counter-example for *sasanivamsam* as against the *senivamsam* cited in the *kasika*. However, it is difficult to understand whether the Kasikara was acquainted with this text.

Beside these strong-grade forms, there is one instance of the feminine form of the participle which represents the weak grade of the stem. It occurs in the Yajya to be recited by the Hotr for the third and the last Anuyaja-offering at the New and Full-moon sacrifices. The relevant portion of the mantra is:

...तां ससनुषीं हात्रां देवंगमां दिवि देवेषु
सज्ञमेरयेमम्...*Taitt Br. 3.5.9.1*

‘...among those gods, do thou cause this Hotr’s formula, which is bountiful and which reaches to the gods, to raise into heaven this sacrifice...’ (Dumont)

To this list of the forms of the perfect participle of *san-* is to be added one more, viz. *sasavams-* which is attested in twelve passages of the *Rgveda*, some of which are repeated in later Vedic literature also. Thus we find *sasavan* 3.22.1 etc., *sasavamsah* 4.8.6 etc. and *sasavamsam*, all of which represent the strong grade of the stem. Curiously enough none of the traditional commentators of Panini has taken notice of this formation.

On RV.3.22.1 Sayan explains *sasavan* as the perfect active participle from *san-* with the elision of the ending-*n* of the *ot* and with accent on the suffix. Later, on RV 6.44.7 and on 6.87.2, probably following Skandasvamin and Venkatamadhava, he explains it alternatively as a possessive adjective from *sasa-n*. 'food' (*Nighantu* 2.7.21). However, Sayana is silent about the retention of the initial reduplication.

Grassmann and Macdonell treat *sasavams*—as a participial formation. Whitney, under Perfect performance from *san-*, records *sasavaams-* but, perhaps due to this bias against Panini, does not include there either *sasavaams*—in the Sutra or *senivams* mentioned in the *Kasika*. Grassmann suggests that *sasanvams-* is to be restored throughout for *sasavams*. According to Arnold RV 4.42.10 is a possible exception to this. Generally, Nagesa says, like the remembrance the *samskara* alone has to be accepted as *teh pratyasatti*. In that case one will have to accept the views of the grammarians alone that only the *jnankara* due to *vasana* is superimposed on the *adhithana*.

The Vaiyakaranas' theory of error is not *anirvacaniyakhyati* as the Vedantins hold because there is nothing called *anirvacaniya* according to them. A thing can either be *sat* or *asat*, there is no third category called *sat-asat-vilaksana*. Moreover, the Advaitins hold the *anirvacaniya rajata* is produced in *sukti*. Nagesa questions: how is it possible in the absence of the *upadanakarana* of *rajata*? Therefore, such a view cannot be accepted.

Similarly, the grammarians' views are different from those of Prabhakaras who are the proposers of the *akhyativada*. According to Prabhakaras, what we call an erroneous cognition is a composition of two knowledges—one the perception of the *adhithana* and the other the remembrance of the object of error. It is only because one fails to catch the difference of these two that one finds *pravrtti* or *nirvrtti* in such cases. In fact, no knowledge is erroneous. Naturally, since the Vaiyakarans do accept a single erroneous cognition it is different from the Prabhakaras.

Sapta

On reflexion on Vedic passages where the word *sapta*—occurs and on reading the commentaries thereon by Yaska and Sayana we get the impression that *sapta* in the Rgveda in places also meant *sarpana-svabhava*. But strangely enough no modern interpreters have ever taken notice of this interpretation of Sayana, so frequently resorted to in his commentary. For this new and apparently unconvincing interpretation, no doubt, Yaska appeared primitive and erroneous no modern Vedic student gave any attention to it. We have therefore made an attempt to study this word more closely in all its contexts, and examine how far this etymology of Yaska can be supported from Vedic evidences.

Sapta—in the Rgveda is associated with a number of things. The sun is called *sapta sva*, his horse is *sapta-naman* and his ear *sapta*. Further he is said to possess *sapta hariah*; to have *sapta rasmi*s and hence he himself is known as *sapta-rasmi*. The Adityas or the sons of Aditi, unlike the later tradition, are only seven, the eighth *Martanda* being a still-born was thrown away by Aditi and thus she went to the gods or to the Primeval Age only seven suns.

The rivers are *sapta*—(with which the word is more frequently associated) and so are the *apah*, the *apah*, the *hotrs* or *rtvijs*, *rsis* or *vipras*, the metres, *dhamans*, *dhitis*, *purs*, *ratnas*,

maruts, danus and a number of other things.

In the hymn RV. I.164 especially in verses 1-3 we find the word *sapta*- very freely being employed, which Geldner in his notes on RV.I.164,3. calls a play or trick with the numeral seven (*spielerci mit der Siebuezahl*). The first a few stanzas of this hymn describe Time or the sun as the Supreme diety, where the word *sapta*—has been intentionally employed rather often by the Vedic bard causing a great confusion to the commentators. For instance the phrase *Sapta-putra*. in RV.I.164, I has been interpreted by Yaska as *saptama-putram* and then taking *sapta*—as an equivalent or errupt form of *sarptr* it has been again interpreted as *sarpana-putra*. The commentator of Nirukta further explains it as : *sarpana hi tasya rasmayo muhurtam apy-anava-sthayina yasya putrah so' yam sapta-putrah*. Sayana, who closely follows Yaska, here adds one more explanation applicable to *param' svara* as *sapta lokah putra yasya tadrsam (parame'svaram)*. Again while interpreting *sapta*—in

sapta yunjanti ratham eka-eakran/eko asvoa vahati sapta-nama/

tri-nabhi akram ajaram anarvam/ yatre' ma viva bhuvanadhi tasthuh//

imam ratham adhi ye sapta tasthuh/ sapta-cakram saptavahanty-asvah/

sapta svasaro abhi sam navante/ yatra gavam nibita nama//

RV.I. 164, 2-3.

Sayana evinces quite uncertainty or his helplessness by explaining the word in a number of ways. He infers that *sapta*—denotes seven different things. From these interpretations we can see how much confusion is caused by the frequent play of the word *sapta*— in these verses. Sayana makes these verses applicable to the year as to the sun and interprets them both ways whereas Geldner remarks that the

ratha (= sun) in I, 164.2 is the visible symbol of year or time and that the seven horses who yoke themselves are none but the seven rays of the sun. Again he says the riders in the ear are the seven priests, the seven horses the metres, the wheels the seven forms of sacrifices (*Agnistoma* ' *di-samstha*) and lastly the sisters the seven *vanis* (voices or tunes). According to Sayana also *ratha* in these contexts symbolizes the disc of the sun and *asva* in *eka asvah* the sun. We should note here that *cakra* is actually applied to the visible disc of the sun here and many other similar contexts in the Rgveda. In his book-*Arctic Home in the Vedas* Tri. Ak therefore rightly observes:— "It seems, however, that the wheel of the sun means the sun himself in the present legend. Thus in I, 175, 4 and IV, 30, 4 the phrase used is *suryam cakram* evidently meaning that the solar or itself is conceived as a wheel. The nature of this wheel (sun) is to roll on incessantly day and night and still the wonder of this *cakra* is that it never wears out. This visible disc of the sun has been variously described as *ratha cakra*, and the eye of the sun in this hymn. The verse I, 164, 12 says the sun who has gone to the lower half of the hemisphere and covered with *purisa* becomes visible (*vicaksana*) when he mounts on the ear which is *sapta-cakra* i.e. the car with constantly rolling wheels. The explanation of *sapta-cakra* given by the interpreters meaning seven seasons &c.. is only a vain attempt to find out some meaning out of the phrase. In the whole of the Vedic literature nowhere is it said that the seasons are seven.

The verse I.164, 2 makes it expressly clear that the sun's chariot has only wheel (*eka-cakra*) and that it is drawn by only one horse who is called *sapta-*, a generic name for things that are on constant move, or who has, as Sayana explains it, seven names or seven bendings. In the immediate next verse we hear the same chariot being called *sapta-cakra* which is drawn by not one horse but seven. This naturally puzzled the commentators and hence Sayana comments on *cakra* as rays! From this apparently contrasting description we can

escape only if we accept the alternate meaning of *sapta*—persistently recorded by the scholiasts, and interpret the phrase as “a chariot having rapidly and constantly rolling (*sarpana-svabhava*) wheels” and not “seven-wheeled.” The wheel of the sun (=sun’s disc) is indeed *surpana-svabhava*, moving day and night without a stop, and so are his horses i.e., rays which rapidly pervade the universe. The *svasurah* in this verse are the celestial rivers which circulate the universe carrying the sun and the heavenly bodies can aptly be called *sapta*. The passage *yavam ui-hita sapta nama*’ in the Rgveda and hence Brhaspati is described as *sapta-gu* (X.47.4) as well as *saptarasmi* (IV,50,4). Would it therefore mean that the *cows* (*gavah*) of the ear (i.e. rays of the sun) have been named as *sapta*-? It is indeed an apt nomenclature for the rapidly pervading rays of the sun. Further it is interesting to note that the sun’s rays have seven colours.

Besides the sun there are some other Vedic deities who are also described as *sapta rasmi*. To wit, Indra in RV.II, 12,12 is called *sapta-rasmi* and Geldner in the notes below observes that *sapta*—in the places generally means many. This clearly shows that he was not satisfied with its normal meaning at least in few Vedic passages. Indra is further said to have yoked the sun’s car having *sapta-rasmi*. (VI, 44,24). Brhaspati, when he was first born in the highest heaven of mighty splendour, is described to have dispelled darkness and, here he is rightly called *sapta rasmi*— Sayana correctly explains it as *sarpana—tejo-yuktah*, possessing the splendour that rapidly pervades. Only with such powerful splendour he can dispell the darkness in the word below. *Saptasya* in this verse again may mean ‘with mouth wide open’ and thus spreading his rays. Geldner strangely enough takes, *sapta-rasmi* for seven reins (mit sieben Zugeln)! It appears he imagined Brhaspati with seven equine faces well-reined! Trita Aptya says his home is in that region home of *tejas* or *rocana* and where gods of light dwell. (I, 105,9.). The celestial Fire who floods the luminous realms of heaven (*visva divo rocana*

paprivamsam I, 146, 1) is also a *sapta-rasmi* (I, 146, 1 Cp. II. 5,2). Thus in the Rgveda many luminous deities are said to be *sapta-rasmi*s i.e. rapidly spreading their light.

The-horses of the sun appear to be his early rays spreading in the horizon at dawn. These rays penetrate the darkness of the night and restore life to the silent world. The colour of these horses (=rays) is golden and they are quite young. Hence, they are generally described as *sapta yahvih haritah* or simply *sapta haritah* in the Rgveda. These young gliding horses carry the sun in his journey round the universe,—*tam suryam haritah sapta yalvih spasam jagato vahanti* (IV, 13,3). His journey through the heaven is very picturesquely described in RV.I,35,2 as

*a krsnena rajasa vartamano/ni-vesayann amrtam
martyam ca/*

*hiranyayena savita rathena,/ devo'yati bhivanani
pasyan //*

These fast pervading rays are said to be quite distinct (*sapta sundhyuvah* I, 50,9) as they are so at early dawn in the background of night's darkness. These golden fast gliding horses are often said to yoke themselves at dawn and carry the sun from the dark nether world on his day's weary journey.

The rays of the sun are not only five or seven, but innumerable. Hence the sun is actually called *sahasra-rasmi* in Sanskrit. It is quite clear that *ratha*, *cakra*, *asva* or *harit* are all allegorical representations of the sun and his rays. The sun who travels round the universe requires a fast moving car and a horse. Hence his car and horse both are always qualified by *sapta-*. fast moving. But this meaning of *sapta-* was later forgotten and the expression was confounded with the homophonous word *saptan* meaning seven. When the numerical meaning is not quite suitable the modern interpreters conveniently say it mean *many*!

Sapta Rasmis

The ideas regarding the sevenfold approach to Reality is adumbrated in the Rgveda. The sevenfold man has been occasionally referred to in early Vedic criticism. Among the ten possible interpretative approaches to the Veda set forth by ancient commentators, the Adhyatmic or spiritual approach is one. While some distinguished criticism has been produced on the basis that the dominant feature of the Rgveda is its spiritual meaning, we have not come across a systematic, hierarchical approach to the psychological functions of the gods outside of Sri Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo clearly emphasizes the seven-fold approach to Reality and it becomes a recurrent theme in his book, *On the Veda*. Indeed, a good deal of the material for the exposition of the psychological functions of the gods in this article is derived from Sri Aurobindo. But he does not set forth seven-fold approach in isolation and with emphasis as a philosophical method of the Rgveda. It has not therefore, been considered in its universal context so far. In fact, it has not even received adequate attention as one of the dominant meaning of the Rgveda.

*Ami ye sapta rashmaysatatra me nabhiratata
tritastadedapatyah sa jamitvaya, rebhati vittam me
asya roodasi;*

Rgveda I.105-9, Kutsa)

“Those which are the seven rays (of the sun), in them in my navel expanded. Trita, the son of the waters, knows that (it is so) and he praises them for his extrication (from the well). Heaven and Earth, be conscious of this (my affliction).”

*Suparna eta asate madhya aroodhane divaha
te sethanti patho Vrikam tarantam yahwa teerapo
vittam me asya rodasi:*

(Rgveda I.105-11 Kutsa).

“The rays of the sun abide in the surrounding centre of heaven; they drive back the Wolf crossing the great waters from the

path. Heaven and Earth, be conscious of this (my affliction).”

The first verse tells us that the navel of man is expanded in the seven rays of the sun. The navel is the seat of the lover vital- our desires and frustrations and the impulses that come from the subconscious and the unconscious. The centres called *manipura*, *swadhisthana* and *muladhara* belong to this region. It is the conquest of the navel that leads to integral knowledge. We are also that the rays of the sun drive back the wolf crossing the great waters, from the path. It is these rays that conquer the *pani* called Vala, the king of the Subconscious and Vritra, the king of unconscious. The Wolf is a force that travels from these nether regions. The Sun is the dispeller of all this evil.

But what do the seven rays of the sun indicate? There are references to the seven rays scattered throughout the Rgveda, but couched in varying imagery. The seven principles which are symbolised by the seven rays and the seven streams of being are referred to as *sapta archisah*, the seven flames; or *sapta ratnani*, the seven delights; *sapta gavah*, the seven cows or rays; *sapta dhenavah* or *sapta matarah*: the seven fostering cows, mothers or rivers; *sapta Dhivtayah*; the seven forms of the Thought Principle; and *sapta vanthi*; the seven words of the beatrix Goddess Vak, the expressive power of Aditi.

The seven Tatwas are the seven fundamental principles of existence. These are psychological principles. The Rishis apprehended the One Existence behind and above all things—an unknowable and timeless Being. This Deva is That,—the origin and cause of all things and the result as well. He is builder of the worlds.

The one is also Two and the appears both as Being and Consciousness, as Male and Female, as Father and Mother of the Worlds. He is also the divine son born into the Worlds. He is Heaven and Earth, Mind and Body, Soul and Nature,

Divine and Human, Mortal and Immortal.

He is also the two triple principles contrasted with each other : Mind-Life-Body and Sat-Chit-Ananda. Between the two triple principles is the link principle—*Ritam*, or the *Briham* or *Mohan*. All these principles apply themselves to each separate formation of Nature.

The seven rivers or *matarah* correspond to the seven fold substances of the ocean of being, the substance which is formulated in the seven worlds. It is the full flow of these seven rivers which is the culmination of the entire activity of the being, the seven strands of all being. These seven strands of being are *dhenavah* of fostering cows or rivers. The mother of the gods, or cow unsayable, takes from as energy of conscious being on the seven planes of world-action, which are referred to as rivers or fostering cows, created by herself. The seven rays or forms of the thought principle are just cows (not fostering cows), seven forms of the Divine Consciousness. These seven cows or rays, which are seven forms of the Divine Consciousness, have to be held in the waters of being. The seven cows have to drink the waters of the seven rivers. This is the consummation, the crowning glory of human life; according to the Vedic seers.

One can also venture the statement that no formation of Nature can be understood perfectly, no situation, event, object or person—unless we view it or him in its or his association with each one of these planes. Thus we know Kind in its entirety only when we apprehend its activity on each one of these planes. We see it as physical Mind on the material plane; as Nervous Mind on the vital plane; as Pure Mind on the mental; as Truth-Mind on the archetypal plane; as the Mind of Pure Being-Consciousness-Bliss on the divine triple plane or *parama paravat*. In fact, each event, object or person on the material plane has its counterparts or manifestations which are progressively subtler on the other six planes. It is only when we have grasped its significance in its seven fold

aspects or manifestations that we know the ultimate Truth about it, i.e., we know it comprehensively. We can even examine problems that have confronted the world for ages, in this perspective, and realise what defect of vision has made it possible for them to d-fy any solution whatsoever.

Many hymns in the Rgveda refer to Indra's conquest of the hundred cities of the enemy. Indra is known as *Purandra*, the destroyer of cities or forts, on this account. The luminous mind of man can perceive the whole truth only when it has evolved all events, objects and persons into their seven analysable forms, tracked them according to the laws of being. Apart from such political allegory as is implicit in this piece of symbolism, the hundred cities can be said to stand for truth in its entirety. They are accounted for as follows:

- (1) The Subconscious which is the foundation of all these cities.
- (2) The One who is their summit and container.
- (3) $7 \times 7 = 49$. Each event, object or person takes a form each on the seven planes or principles. Each plane or principle is also modified by the subordinate manifestation of the other within itself. Therefore, in the seven ascending degrees, or steps of what is mortal towards immortality, there will be seven forms of an event or object on each plane. If finer details have to be gone into, we will have to tackle the 7×7 (49) projections of the object, person or event in order to grasp the whole truth, in their descent from the summit to the material plane, the gods also assume seven forms, the last or material one being their birth in the consciousness of man. No doubt, the one Deva is all the gods. But these powers and principles function in each one of the gods uniquely. For instance, Agni represents divine illumination and force. As *Parthivagni* (the fire belonging to earth), he is *Vaishvanara* or the universal soul of power housed in

men, birds, beasts, plants, herbs and rocks. He is the force of the Devouring Desire of the life in us and that leads to purification. He makes the tree grow according to its-seed. He is *Vaidyaeagni* or electric force in *antariksah* or the atmospheric world and *surya* or the Sun in *swar* or heaven. In the inner *antariksha* or vital world, he is *aptyuh*, the child of the Waters, the Horse (*Dadhikaravan*) purifying the nervous life of its desires and instincts. On the mental plane, he is Indra as Surya or the sun. On the plane of *swar*, *trita aptya*, the *purusha* of the mental plane, sharpens him into an axe, a clear and effective power of liberation. To the vision of the secret soul that Agni is and to the blaxing will, knowledge is added here. Agni's force rises to the womb of the mental clarity and assumes universal forms, largeness and multiplicity, on the archetypal plane or the solar world. In the divine triple world, Agni finds the sources of divine plenty and pours it out on our life. He becomes the One, the soul in man revealed in its universality, though he still enjoys the manifold movement of the rivers, the multiple cosmic energies. *Kavikratuh*. (Seer-Will) of the archetypal plane, he becomes *mayobhuvah* (bringer of felicity) on the divine tripe plane. Here also emerges the divine truth in thought, word and act. This *gotama* or master or light leads the sacrifice in each one and in the cosmos and fulfils all in the multiplicity.

The 'seats' or planes of the soul, often called 'cities' are thus seven, each with its seven provinces, the other six principles also being represented on each plane in a subordinate manner. The upward aspiration of Nature to the Soul is symbolised in 49 'cities' and the downward gaze of the Soul on Nature in the other 49. The Subconscious foundation and the summit of the One who contains all, add up to the hundred 'cities' conquered by Indra, the mind of light in man.

Sapta-Sindhu

This phrase has been interpreted by almost all Vedic scholars as seven rivers though they greatly differed with each other in their opinions as to the specific rivers which made up this number. While interpreting *sapta sravatah* in RV.I,71,7 Sayana observes: *imam me gange ity asyam rci sapta hi nadyah pradhanyena sruyante*. He believes RV.X.75,5,

imam me gange yamune sarasvati sutudri stomam sacata parusni a /

asiknyamarukvrdhe vitastaya arjiye srnuhy u susomaya //

records the seven rivers by name. The rivers addressed in vocatives here viz. Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutudri, Parusni Marudvrdha and Arjiya are, according to him, the often mentioned *sapta-sindhus* and the other three in instrumental are the tributaries. Sayana later in all places says: *sapta-sindhuvah ganga dyah nadyah* and then only gives the alternate interpretation. He, unlike the modern writers, is definite as far as the composition of rivers of this group goes and bases his presumption on Vedic evidences.

Now coming to the modern interpreters we find they all agree as far as six rivers viz. the five rivers of the Punjab (*Vitastis, Asikni, parusni, Vipas* and *Sutudri*) and the Indus are concerned but differ on the seventh. Max Muller takes Sarasvati for the seventh, Ludwig Kubha and Lassen originally Kubha and subsequently Sarasvati. After quoting the opinions of the above writers in his *Varuna* Luders shows preference to the Sarasvati on the strength of express evidence of RV. VII, 36, 6 where the Sarasvati is described as the seventh and the mother of floods,—*sarasvati saptathi sindhu mata*. Having recognised the difficulty of identifying the seven streams, Keith observes:—”...The confusion of seven streams is particularly often found, doubtless because of the Vedic predilection for the number seven. It is probably needless to

press the number for and exact identification especially as it is quite probably the idea came with the Indians from Iran." Tilak believes that these are the aerial or celestial streams and have little or nothing to do with the rivers of the Punjab. He remarks:"... The Punjab, as remarked above, is a land of five rivers and not seven; and though we might raise the number to seven by adding to the group *any* two insignificant tributaries according to our fancy, yet, the artificial character of the device is too apparent to justify us in holding the expression *sapta sindhavah* was originally suggested by the rivers of the Punjab"...Realizing all this confusion of *saptasindhavah* Macdonell doubts whether '*sapta*' in this and several other contexts stands for a definite number at all. So does Hopkins in his paper "*Numerical Formula the Veda.*". Zimmer too remarks that we should not press the number for an exact identification and that it may designate indefinite plurality (unbestimmter Vielheit). In his *worterbuch zum Rigveda* Grassman gives "alle" (all) and "viel" (many) as the implied meanings of *sapta*—in compounds like *sapta-pada* and *sapta-budhna* respectively. Luders is not satisfied with all this explanation. He holds that the *sapta-sindhavah* designates a definite group of rivers especially because the expression denotes a definite country watered by a definite group of seven rivers. The expression *hapta hindu*, the Iranian equivalent of *sapta-sindhu*, further added to this confusion. The western writers believed that this expression referred to the Punjab.

In support of this they point out RV.VIII, 24,27 where *sapta-sindhu* is used, according to them, as a place name referring to the Punjab. We should remember here that the *hapta hindu* of the Avesta is actually a name of a mythical land encircled by the mythical rivers, whereas *sapta-sindhavah* in the Veda simply means ever-flowing streams,—or assuming *sapta* in this context meant seven, only seven streams. In RV.VII, 24, 27 referred to above *sapta-sindhusu* are two separate words and as such they can mean at best *on the seven streams*, and

if at all the phrase implied some territory where these streams flow it simply did so just as the idism *gangayam ghosah* implied Sayana, therefore, correctly translates it *ganga dyasu nadisu. yad vasarpana- silasu nadisu. tat-kulesv its arthah ity arthah*. Griffith also renders it as: *on the seven streams* and, in the notes below adds: *in the land of seven streams*, whereas Geldner straightaway renders it in one phrase as *im Sieben-stromland* and this *Siebenstromland* was generally believed to refer to the Panjab. Which as it implies is a land of five rivers. As far as we know there is no Vedic authority nor any tradition which would warrant the assumption that *sapta-sindhu* meant the Panjab or the rivers of the Punjab and that *sindhu* in this phrase meant the Indus. Therefore, we have to seek the explanation of *sapta-sindhu* in the Rgveda itself.

Sarva

In perusing those passages from the ancient part of Vedic literature which contain the word *sarva-* or compounds with *sarva-* we soon get the impression that translators have often disagreed with regard to the exact equivalent of these words in particular contexts. Cases are not rare in which even translations from the same pen are at variance with each other. An attempt may therefore be made to examine this word more closely. The comment made by Grassmann on the meaning of *sarva-* in the Rgveda is still worth quoting. The basal meaning “undivided, complete” (“ungeteilt, vollstandig”), this authority says, prevails in this corpus, the idea of “all” being mostly denoted by *visva-*, seldom and only in the younger parts by *sarva-*. Grassmann is no doubt right in vindicating, contrary to the Petrograd Dictionary, a meaning “undivided, whole, uninjured” (“ganz, ungeteilt, unversehrt”).

This sense is perfectly evident in the following passages :
RV.1,42,2 *yam bahuteva piprati panti martyam risah ! aristah sarva edhate* “the mortal being, whom they (the

Aditya) bring over (i.e. save), so to say, in the arms and protect from injury, prospers 'complete' (i.e. in sound condition) and unhurt (or rather : safe, secure)"; 8,27,16 *pra sa ksayam tirate...! pra prajabhur jayate...aristah sarva edhate* "he increases his house ..., he propagates offspring..., he prospers safe and sound". In 10, 161, 5 - which, being the last stanza of a sukta intended to release a patient from consumption, also occurs, as 8, 1, 20 in the Atharvaveda—it reads: *sarvanga sarvam te caksuh sarvam ayus ca te 'vidam* "whole-limbed one! I have won your sight and your life safe and sound".

The translations given for the same adjective when occurring in the Atharvaveda seem to be, in places, in need of modification. AV.18,4,8 (funeral verses) *mahimanam agner ..samangah sarva upa yahi* "do thou, with thy limbs, 'complete in all parts', i.e. safe and sound, go unto Agni's greatness". The adjective not infrequently refers to the completeness or totality after an enumeration of the parts or constituents : 2, 31, 5; 19,5,1; cf. also 4, 20, 4 *sarvam...yas ca sudra utaryah*, and RV.10,163,5 and 6.AV.8,2,25 *sarvo vai tatra jivati gaur asvah purusah pasuh...*—which forms part of a series of stanzas intended to be used in ceremonies for continuation of life and vitality -was translated by Whitney—Lanman as follows: "every one, verily, lives here-ox, horse, man, beast, where this charm is performed, a defence unto living". There is, however, as far as I am able to see, no objection to an interpretation: "unhurt, safe and sound": cow, horse, man... live and are uninjured, where...". In the corresponding stanza in the Taitt. Ar. (6,11,12) the first pada, though different in wording, harmonizes in sense : *na vai tatra pra miyate*. AV.16,4,6 the adjective occurs in the same context as *suasti-adyosaso dosasas ca sarva apah sarvagano asiya* "may I, O waters, attain today dawns and evenings with well-being (i.e. well) safe and sound, any my train safe and sound" ("whole and with my whole train" Whitney-Lanman).

The sense of *sarva-* may also be illustrated by passages such as Ait. Br. 6,31,2 *na vai sakrd evagre sarvah sambhavaty, ekaikam va angam sambhavatah sambhavati* “not at once... does it come into being whole separately each member comes into being as it comes into being”. Hence also the compound *saravanga-* (RV.10,161,5; AV.8,2,8 etc.) “whole-limbed, entire or perfect in limb” (joining *arista-* “unhurt”), and “complete” (in general).

The combinations of *sarva-* and *visva-*—are therefore not necessarily tautological in character : TBr. 3,1,1,1 *yasyema visva bhuvanani sarva may have meant* “...all these worlds in their completeness (entirety)”, *visva-* pointing out the inability to proceed after a certain total number has been counted, *sarva-* emphasizing the idea of wholeness, and completeness and the inability to discern defectiveness.

Let us now turn to the compound *asarva-*. In AV.9,2,14 *asarvaviras caratu...dvesyo mitranam parivargyah svanam* the translation given by the American scholars “with his heroes not safe” is doubtless preferable to that of the Petograd Dictionary: “whose people are not complete” (“seine Leute nicht voll beisammen habend”). The adjective is of some frequency in the brahmanas: Jaim. Br.3,123 is very instructive: *kumari, sthavirao va ayam asarvo nalam patitvanya* “girl, this old man, who is decrepit, is no adequate husband”. The sense of the word no doubt is “defective, not complete, lacking something essential”; *ibid*, 124 *yuvam va asarvau stho, you devau santav asomapau sthah* “you are ‘defective’ (incomplete)—or: there is something wrong with you, because though being gods you are not admitted to drink the soma juice”. Cf. also Sat. 4,1,5,10 ff. *na vai susarvav iva stho na susamrddhau* “you are neither quite complete nor quite perfect”. A person who is neither a nobleman nor a purohita is incomplete: *asarv-*, the same brahmana says (6,6.3.12).

In an interesting pericope of the Jaiminiya-upanisad-brahmana, 3,1,1,1 ff. the reasons are given why some powerful beings

may be called *asarva*-: in that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers who are in the west, therefore it is not complete: *tena so 'sarvah*; the moon and the asterisms are for the same reason "incomplete"; the fire is *asarva*—, because it dies out; day and night, because they pass; the quarters of the sky, because they are confounded and cannot be distinguished at night; the god of rain, because he loses and draws water; the waters, the herbs, and the forest-trees, because they are exhausted. Here the sense of *asarva*—is very much in evidence: what is not always and in all respects perfect, what in some respects falls short of the ideal standards, what loses part of the power or energy which it represents,, is *asarva*-.

From a passage in the Aitareya-Brahmana (8, 7) it appears that the long formula *devasya tva savituh prasave* etc., is not considered to be "complete" as long as it is not concluded by *bhuh, bhuvah, svah*. "If he is anointed without a complete formula, he is liable to depart before he has completed a full lifetime" (*yad asarvena vaca 'bhisikto bhavatisvaro ha tu purayusah praitoh...*). The vyahrtis, indeed, are *sarvapti*- i.e. they represent "the obtaining of completeness", and by adding these the institutor of the sacrifice is liable to complete a full lifetime, to live the whole of an *ayus*; by conquest he obtains "*sarvam*" : *lsvaro ha sarvam ayur aitoḥ, sarvam apnod vijayeda*. It may be added that the commentary explains *asarvena* by *sampurtirahitena* "destitute of completion".

In connection with the sacrificial horse the Satapatha-Brahmana 5,1,4,5 observes that it was produced incomplete (*asarva*-) when it was produced from the waters, because something belonging to it was left behind; by means of that one completes the horse and makes it whole (*samardhayati krtṣnam karoti*). The wife, the same brahmana (5,2,1,10) holds, is one half (i.e., the complementary part: *ardhah*) of his own self; hence, as long as he does not marry her, ... for

so long he is incomplete. This observation is made in connection with the ritual mounting of the sacrificial post during the Vajapeya: in performing this rite the sacrificer attempts, for himself and his wife, to reach the sun. In ascending the sacrificer pronounces the words: *sarva etam gatim gacchani* "complete I want to go to that (supreme) goal." Here man obviously endeavours to reach the high goal of union with the light of heaven in the same state of wholeness and completeness in which he tries to preserve his body while living on the earth. Another interesting passage illustrating the same thought is J. Up. Br. 3,3,5 "whose thus knows this self of the uktha firmly established in the self, comes into being in younger world with limbs, with a body, whole": *sangas satanus sarvas sambhavati*.

Satapatha Brahmana

The Satapatha (or 100 path) Brahmana, so-called because it consists of 100 *paths* or sections, each called a Brahmana, is the best known, the most important and most significant of all the Brahmanas, and it is also regarded as one of the most modern of all the Vedas. The first nine books or Kandas continually refer to the first 18 books of the White Yajus Sanhita, and are indeed regarded as a running commentary upon them. The sacrifices of the Vedas are divided into three classes, which stand out very markedly from one another, the Soma sacrifices, the animal sacrifices and the haviryagnas or offerings of milk, butter, grain, food, & c. Books I and II of the Satapatha Brahmana treat of the last of these three. Hence the first chapter gives an account of the vow of abstinence from certain kinds of food, especially meat, and from other carnal pleasures. Near the close of Book first we have the disgusting legend of Prajapati and Dawn and the well-known story of Ida or the horned fish and the Deluge.

Books iii and iv. treat of the ordinary forms of the soma sacrifice, the most sacred of the Vedic sacrificial rites. It

includes in it an account of the animal sacrifices, as these latter, though occupying an independent position of their own, were also including as parts of the Soma sacrifices, and as such of minor importance.

In the 4th Book, the 5th chap. and 2nd section, there is a full account of the sacrifice of the "Barren Cow", which includes a discussion of the sacrifice of a cow in calf.

Book v. is taken up with the two great sacrifices of Vajapeya and Rajasaya or inauguration of a King. The former may be translated the sacrifice of the 'drink of strength' or 'race cup.' Book vi. and vii., while treating of the building of the fire altar, includes a discussion on animal sacrifices; with curious reflections on gold leaf, gold man and gold child, and the tortoise as representing heaven, air and earth. The victims specially dwelt upon are hegoats and rams, whose death is brought about in a most barbarous and cruel fashion. But the great feature of all these sacrifice is the Soma, a survival of Totemism and Sabaism welded together.

Book xii, called Sautramani, treats of Prayaschitta or penance in general (treated in the last chapter of Aitareya Brahmana), while Book xiii. called the *Asvamedha*, treats at some length of the horse sacrifice though in a much more superficial manner than some other sacrifices; and then with extreme brevity the Purusha-medha or human sacrifice, the universal sacrifice and the sacrifice to the ancestors. The last six chapters are of a purely speculative and legendary character, and form by themselves a distinct work or Upanishad under the name of *Vrihad-Aranyaka*, a circumstance leading to the conclusion that it is of much more recent origin than the earlier chapters. We arrive at the same conclusion from the fact that the legends met with in these latter chapters are mostly of an historical character, and are chiefly connected with individual teachers, who cannot have lived at a time very distant from that of the legends themselves. In the earlier chapters on the contrary, the legends are mostly of a

mythological character, or if historical, refer principally to occurrences belonging to remote antiquity. King Janamejaya, who figures so largely in the Mahabharat, is mentioned here the first time, in a passage from which we learn that the care taken of his horses had passed into a proverb. Here also Rudra for the first time is called Mahadeva. In the 11th Book frequent mention is made, and for the first time, of Janaka, King (*Samaraj*) of Videha, as the patron of Yajnavalkya. All these circumstances and many other go to show the comparatively recent origin of these latter chapters.

The 14th Book contains a legend concerning a contention among the gods, in which Vishnu came off victorious; whence it became customary to say 'Vishnu is the luckiest (*sreshtha*) of the gods.' This is the first time that we find Vishnu brought into such prominence; he otherwise appears only in the legend of the three strides, and as the representative of the sacrifice itself,—a position which is, in fact, ascribed to him here also. Indra, as here related, afterwards strikes off his head in jealousy. This story is however differently told: The gods send forth ants to gnaw the bowstring of Vishnu, who stands leaning on his bended bow; the string snapping and springing upwards, serves his head from his body. The same legend recurs in the parallel passages of the Taitt. Aranyaka and Panch. Brahmana.

The aim of the *Yajnavalkiya-Kanda* is the glorification of Yajnavalkya, and it recounts how, at the court of his patron Janaka, King of Videha, he silenced all the Brahmanas of the Kurupanchalas, &c., and gained his patron's full confidence (see Book xii of the Mahabharat). Mention is made of Yajnavalkya's two wives, Maitreyi and Katyayani for the first time in the eighth Brahmana of the preceding Book.

"The legends interspersed in such numbers throughout the Satapatha Brahmana have a special significance. In some of them", weber remarks, "the language is extremely antiquated, and it is probable, therefore that before their incorporation into

it they possessed an independent form. These include the legends of the Deluge and the rescue of Manu, the restoration to youth of Chyavana by the Asvins at the request of his wife Sukanya, of the love and separation of Pururavas and Urvashi, and several other. "Many of them reappear as episodes in the Mahabharata in a metrical garb and often very much altered. It is obvious that we have here as much more intimate connection with the epic than exists in the other Brahmanas." We find the explanation in the fact that "this Brahmana substantially originated and attained its final shape among the tribes of the Kurupanchalas and the neighbouring Kosla-Videhas. The King of the latter, Janaka, who is represented in it as the chief patron of the sacred doctrine it embodies, bears the same name as the father of Sita and father-in-law of Rama, in the Ramayana. This is, however, the only point of contact with the Ramayana legend which can here be traced, and as the name Janaka seems to have belonged to the whole family, it also virtually disappears. Nevertheless, I am inclined", continues Prof. Weber, "to identify the father of Sita with this exceptionally holy Janaka, being of opinion the Sita herself is a mere abstraction, and that consequently she had assigned to her the most renowned father possible. As regards the special relation in which the Brahmana stands to the legend of the Mahabharata, Lassen, it is well-known, takes as the fundamental feature of the latter a conflict between the Kurus and the Panchalas, ending in their mutual annihilation, the latter being led by the family of the Pandus, who came from the West. Now at the time of the Brahmana, we find the Kurus and the Panchalas still in full prosperity and also united in the closest bonds of friendship as one people.

Consequently this internecine strife cannot yet have taken place. On the other hand in the latest portions of the Brahmana, we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation, and the fall of Janamejaya Parikshita and his brother Bhimasena, Ugrasena and Srutasena, and of the whole family of the Parikshitas, apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed

as a subject of controversy. In the Mahabharata boundless confusion prevails regarding these names. Janamejaya and his brothers are represented either as great-grandsons of Kuru, or else as the great-grandsons of the Panduih Arjuna, at whose snake sacrifice Visampayana related the history of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pandas. Adopting the latter view, which appears to be the better warranted, from the fact that the part of the Mahabharat, which contains it, is written in prose, and exhibits a peculiarly ancient garb,— the supposed great internecine conflict between the Kurus and the Panchalas, and the dominion of the Pandavas must have been long past at the time of th Brahmana. How is this contradiction to be explained? That something great and marvellous had happened in the family of th Parikshitas, and that their end still excited astonishment at the time of the Brahmana had already been stated. But what it was we know not. After what has been said above, it can hardly have been the overthrow of the Kurus by the Panchalas; but at any rate it must have been deeds of guilt; and indeed I am inclined to regard this as yet unknown ‘something’ as the basis of the legend of Mahabharat.

“To me it appears absolutely necessary to assume, with Lassen, that the Pandavas did not originally belong to the legend, but were only associated with it at a later time, for not only is there no trace of them anywhere in the Brahmanas or Sutras, but the name of their chief hero, Arjuna (Phalguna), is still employed here, in the Satapatha Brahmana (and in the Sanhita) as a name of Indra; indeed he is probably to the looked upon as originally identical with Indra and therefore destitute of any real existence. Lassen further concludes from what megasthenes reports of the Indian Hercules, his sons and his daughter Pandaia and also from other accounts in Curtius, Pliny and Ptolemy, that at the time when Megasthenes wrote, the mythical association of Krishna (?) with the Pandavas already existed. But this conclusion, although perhaps in itself probable, its at least not certain, and even if it were, it would

not prove that the Pandavas were at that time already associated with the legend of the Kurus. And if we have really to assign the arrangement of the Madhyamdina recession to about the time of Megasthenes, it may reasonably be inferred from the lack of all mention of the Pandavas in it, that their association with the Kurus had not then been established, although, strictly speaking, this conclusion has weight, not so much for the period when the arrangement of the work actually took place, as for the time to which the pieces arranged belong.

“As with the epic legends, so also do we find in the Satapatha Brahmana several points of contact with the legends of the Buddhists on the one hand, and with the later tradition concerning the origin of the Sankhya doctrine on the other... As regards the Buddhist legends the Sakyas of Kapilavastu (whose name may possibly be connected with the Sakayanins of the tenth *Kanda* and the Sakayanya of the Maitrayana-Upanishad) called themselves Gautamas, a family name which is particularly often represented among the teachers and in the lists of teachers of the Brahmana. It is moreover the country of the Kosalas and Videhas that is to be looked upon as the cradle of Buddhism :Svetaketu son of Aruni, one of the teacher most frequently mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana is with the Buddhists the name of one of the the earlier births of Sakyamuni. Prof. Weber thinks the use of *Magadha*, *Arhat*, *Sramana*, *Maha-brahmana* and *Pratibuddha*, are also suggestive of Buddhism. “The name Chelaka, also in the Brahmana, may possibly have some connection with the peculiarly Buddhistic sense attached to the word *chela*. Ajatasatru and Brahmadata, on the contrary, are probably but namesakes of the two persons designated by the Buddhists under these names as contemporaries of Budha (?). The same probably also applies to the Vatisiputriyas of th Buddhists and the Vatsiputras of the Virh. Arany. (v.531) although this form of name, being uncommon, perhaps implies a somewhat closer connection. It is however the family of the Katyayanas,

Katyayaniputras, which we find represented with special frequency among the Buddhists as well as in the Brahmana (although only in its very last portions). We find the first mention of this name is the person of one of the wives of Yajnavalkya, who is called Katayyani...It also appears frequently in the lists of teachers, and almost the whole of the Sutras, belonging to the White Yajus bear this name, as that of their author." Of these we do not treat.

From all these matters touched upon, it will be seen that the Satapatha, though by no means the older, has been found of greatest interest to students.

The Mandala Brahmana is attached to the Yajur Veda.

Seas and Deserts

According to P.L.Bhargava the *Rgveda* not only knows a sea but seas; in two of the verses four seas are clearly mentioned. Two of these are frequently mentioned together. In one verse the sun, addressed as the *kesin* (hairy i.e., multirayed) *muni* (sage), is said to repair to both the seas, the *Purva* or the eastern and the *Apara* or the western. The meaning clearly is that it was seen rising in the morning from the eastern sea and retiring for rest in the evening to the eastern sea. In another verse *Agni VaAisvanara* is praised for removing the investing gloom at the rising of the sun from the heaven and the earth as well as from the *avara* or the eastern and *para* or the western sea. In other verses, these two seas are called the *Aravat* and *Paravat* seas. The existence of the eastern and western was is further proved by the fact that in some verses the sun or the morning gods *Asvins* are described as rising from the sea while in others as retiring into the sea. Before proceeding further we would like to discuss the meaning of these words. As noted from V.S.Apte's Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary *avara*= nearer, *para*= distant. *arvanch* - being on this side (as the bank of a river) (opp.*para*), *arvak* = in the proximity of, near, *apara* = western

and *purva* = eastern, *Arvavat* would mean nearer and *paravat* would meana remoter. P.L. Bhargava says that it is possible that some of the south-western part of Sindh was still under water.

There is no necessity to surmise it as the meaning is clear even without supposing a wedge of sea on the western side of the seven mouths of the river Indus as shown in the map by P.L. Bhargava. He says that the *Purva*, *Avara* and *Arvavat* sea is one. According to him could not have been the Bay of Bengal which is far removed from the home of the Rgvedic Aryans. He is of the opinion that the problem deserves a detailed discussion. Then P.L. Bhargava says that the facts mentioned about the *Purva* sea and the *Sarasvat* sea make it clear that these were seas in the east and the south of some parts of Saptasindhu in the Rgvedic age. The region that lay in the south of Saptasindhu was what is now called Rajasthan. The epics and the *Puranas* lend support to the view that a considerable part of the modern Rajasthan was covered by sea in the Rgvedic times. A part of this sea is called Ujjalaka in the *Puranas* and the *Mahabharata* in connection with the exploits of the Aiksvaku king Kuvalayasva who is said to have killed a *Raksasa* (whence he got the name Dundhumara) near this sea. Dhund is a river flowing east of the Amber hills and falls in Morel river which falls in the Banas river. So it is crystal clear to us from it that it was on the eastern side of Sarasvati and western side of Dhund. In the geographical map there is only one place which satisfies this condition and that is Sambhar lake and so *Purva* or *Arvavat* sea should not be put on the western side of a *Sarasvat* sea as done by Professor P.L. Bhargava in the map facing p.220 in his book quoted above. Then P.L. Bhargava says that the *Ramayana* also seems to refer to a part of this sea as the Drumakulya sea for the Abhiras who are said to have lived on its shores are regarded by the *Mahabharata* as living nearer Vinasan i.e., the place where the Sarasvati disappeared. But when did Sarasvati disappear question. It carried lesser water after 1000 B.C., as the encatchment area of Sarasvati

and its tributaries passed on Jamuna due to geological changes and archaeologists like V.N.Misra, and S.N.Rajguru put it in 1000 B.C. According to them Sarasvati carried less water but did not disappear according to them upto 1000 A.D., however thin it might have become. Then we are only to know where did the Arbiras live. According to *Bhagavata Purana* when Krsna went from Indraprastha (Delhi) from Dwarka (Gujarat), he crossed two deserts known as Maru and Dhanva on the western side of the river Sarasvati where they drank the water of Drumakulya sea according to Valmiki. The Nirnaysagara Press edition of *Bhagavata Purana* has the recession *Marudhanvamatikramya* compounding the two words Maru and Dhanva but according to *Amaraksa* both of them mean the same thing. So there would be a tautology but we have a number of manuscripts with us which have the recession not compounding the two words and thus avoiding the tautology. The *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* have used the word Dhanvan for desert and not Maru. P.L.Bhargava says that it seems Sindh was then as now, a desert region for in one verse *Agni* is said to shine from the *Paravat* sea across the desert.

From the *Ramayana* which is earlier than *Mahabharata* it is quite clear that the Abhiras lived on the sea shore. From the *Bhagavata Purana*, which is later than the *Mahabharata* it is clear that they lived between the deserts of Barmer and Dwarka (Gujarat). As they are compounded with the Sauviras in *Bhagavata Purana* they seem to be their neighbours. Probably the territory on the western bank of Indus (Sindhu) was known as Sindhu, whereas the territory on the eastern bank was inhabited by Sauviras and to their east and west of Sarasvati river and north of *Sarasvata Samudra* known as Drumakulya to Valmiki in c.600 B.C., lived the Abhiras. The area was sea earlier as known both to archaeology and tradition incorporated by Valmiki in *Ramayana* as mentioned above.

But according to P.L.Bhargava the *Sarasvata* in all probability,

covered parts of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Ajmer divisions of present Rajasthan cannot be true about the Vedic period as a massive and extensive boulder formation had come up from Ladnun in the east via Jayal upto Phalodi as early as 2 million years ago. Then the map given by Bimal Ghose, Aman Kar and Zahid Husain shown old course of the Sarasvati carrying the water of its tributary Luni into the Rann of Kachchha which was Sarasvata sea of the Vedic period. As right from the jayal gravel ridges to Luni basin man was living there in Palaeolithic period so the sea disappeared about 2 million years' ago from a lake of this area. The archaeologists have got the deposits of cereal, pollen and charcoal. The date assigned to it is between 8000 to 7000 B.C. The charcoal and cereal pollen prove human inhabitation, hence it could not be a sea in the Vedic age. Hence Sarasvati fell in the Sarasvata sea whose remains are now the Rann of Kachchha.

About Saryanavat Sayana is of the opinion that it was a lake in Kuruksetra. P.L.Bhargava does not agree with this identification. Hillerbrandt suggested that Saryanavat was an old name for the Wular sea of Kashnir. P.L.Bhargava says that this statement is fully supported by the evidence of *Rgveda*. His arguments are as under. In one verse of the *Rgveda* Saryanavat is associated with the Susoma river and Soma is said to grow there. The association of Saryanavat with a northern tributary of the Indus as well as with Soma clearly shows that Saryanavat sea was situated in northern Saptasindhu. In another verse Saryanavat is associated with Susoma and Arjikiya and all these are described as full of houses and visited by people in carts with lower front wheels. In this passages all the three appear to be names of mountains, the first being the one surrounding the sea of that name and other two the being those that gave rise to the rivers bearing their names. Sayanavat thus appears to have been the name sea as well as mountain on its shores surrounding it. Both were situated in the northern Saptasindhu near the region of the Susoma and Arjikiya rivers. The only remnants of a sea

amidst mountains in that area are the lakes of Wular and Dal lakes. According to local tradition the whole valley was at one time a huge lake named Stisara. It must have this large lake occupying the valley of Kashmir which was known as the Saryanavat sea in the Rgvedic days.

Thus, we are in complete agreement with Professor P.L.Bhargava as far as identification of Saryanavat Samudra is concerned but with a little difference as far as Aparā Samudra is concerned and very with him as far as identification of Sarasvata samudra and Arvavat Samudra is concerned.

Sexual Fluids

From the time of the Rgveda to the present, Indians have tended to view the processes of sexual intercourse and birth in terms of the interaction of various bodily fluids. Their notions about the precise nature of these fluids and the manner of their interaction have varied from time to time and from text to text, but the underlying model emerges fairly clearly from the corpus as a whole. My discussion will be based primarily upon the Sanskrit text; there are, however, striking resonance between these texts and many Bangali and Tamil sources, which I will cite in passing. These later examples though necessarily more miscellaneous, even serendipitous, than those from the Vedic material, indicate the persistence of classical ideas in so-called folk traditions, or, as is equally likely, the “folk” source of many so-called classical Indians concepts of the Human body and of sexual relationships.

Sexual fluids are almost always linked in some way to the process of eating food and to the classical sacrificial ritual (see chart 1); frequently they are also linked to the fluids of the sky and to those of the sacred animals, the cow and the horse. These links raise from the very start the difficult question of how to interpret metaphor in religious texts. What is meant when the text says “The rain is the urine of the sacrificial horse”(BAU 1.1.1)? How literally is one to interpret

symbolic statements? Although there are certainly important differences between the semantic levels of metaphorical discourse and ordinary discourse, there must be some continuity between them if language is to express religious ideas at all. This is a serious problem that cannot be solved here, but it would be well for the reader to keep it in mind in examining the texts adduced in this chapter. The same symbolic equations will have different meanings on different levels: “x is y” may mean “x functions in the same way as y.” or “x and y produce the same result,” or many other things (cf. saleswoman’s clinche: “Madam, that hat is you”)

Given this dilemma, I still think that it is possible to ask the texts questions about the symbols used in metaphors involving sexual fluids, as well as about the things symbolized. The key is context. Certain ambiguous terms frequently occur in unambiguous contexts that allow us to assign to them specific symbolic values; thus, when the term *payas* occurs in the sentence “The bull sprinkles his *payas* is “semen”; and when we read “*payas* streams from the udder of the cow” we may say that at least one other meaning of *payas* is “milk” when these terms occur in more ambiguous contexts, we may seek to understand those contexts by going back to our growing storehouse of the symbolic ranges of the words, trying to find

Chart 1 : Sexual Fluids

	Cosmic	Sex	Body	Food	Ritual
Female	Water, River	Menstrual blood (puspa, rajas) seed (rati, rasa)		Milk (payas)	Water, fire
Androgynous	Essence (rasa) (in plants, women, men	Blood (rakta, sonita)		Blood, poison	Butter (ghee)
Male	Rain (vrsti), ocean	Semen (retas, virya, blija)		Semen	Soma, fire

the meaning that will allow the new sentence to make the best sense in terms of our tentative knowledge of Vedic ideas about these protean fluids. So, too, statements equating the functions of the phallus and the breast support unambiguous interpretations of ambiguous terms, for the contexts imply that a specifically male fluid is equated with a specifically female fluid. Poetic applications of even basic terms always retain a certain measure of ambiguity.

Almost a century ago, Avel Bergaigne pointed out that one must make a choice between simplifying the Vedic lexicon and thereby having to deal with more complex ideas, or complicating the lexicon in order to simplify Vedic ideas (Bergaigne 1883, pp.468-74). In the first instance, one would simply translate *payas* (milk), *retas* (semen), and related terms as “fluids in motion” and discuss the various ways that fluids move in the Rg Veda; in the second instance, one would say that *payas* has the primary meaning of “milk” the secondary meaning of “expressed fluid,” and the tertiary meaning of “semen”; one is then forced to decide whether this third usage literally implies that milk comes forth from the phallus or metaphorically illuminates the similarity between these two functions. Although Bergaigne preferred the first method (and may Vedists today still follow him), my own feeling is that Vedic words are more complex than Vedic contexts and that to use various contexts to illuminate rich terms is ultimately more productive than to seek to compress a rich term into a single neutral word that can be plugged into any context; for this leaves us no tool with which to find our way through the jungle of contexts other than the unequivocal—and self-evident—meaning of the word. In making this choice, I realise that I am placing myself in the camp of the weal linguists (as Samuel Johnson said to one such. “He has too little Latin : he gets the Latin from the meaning, not the meaning from the Latin”). But I find this a familiar and congenial group—and once that has made much sense of the Rg Veda.

Let us now turn to the texts themselves. In the Indian view, the most basic of all body fluids (and sometimes, though not always, the basis of all sexual fluids) is blood, which is essential to both male and female. Blood is seldom mentioned in the Rg Veda (a surprising fact for such an earthly and martial document); one late and notoriously problematic hymn asks, “Where is the earth’s breath, and blood, and soul?” (RV 1:164,6c). The commentator, Sayana, interprets this as a reference to the gross body (of earth and blood) and the subtle body (of breath and the soul), in the context of the theory of the component elements (*dhatus*); despite the probably anachronism of this interpretation, the Vedic text itself is certainly an early and clear reference to blood as the essence of the earthly body. Another late hymn of the Rv-Veda refers to demons who are smeared with the blood of men, horses, and cattle and who steal away the milk of cows (Rv 1. 87.16); the two life-substances, blood and milk, are here paired in the context of death (loss of fluid) and significant for centuries of Hindus though on this subject.

There is in the Rg Veda one veiled but highly charged reference to female sexual blood—not menstrual blood but the blood of defloration. The “purple and red stain” becomes a dangerous female spirit walking on feet, a witch who binds the husband and makes his body ugly and sinisterly pale: “it burns, it bites, and it claws, as dangerous as a poison is to eat” (RV 10.85.28—30, 34-35). Poison is an important negative female sexual fluid in post-Vedic mythology, as we will see, and menstrual fluid is eaten in Tantric ceremonies. The blood in the Vedic passage is not explicitly said to play a role in procreation, but it is in a wedding hymn, resonant with expressions of fertility.

In the Upanisads, blood is explicitly incorporated into the model of the body, both unisexual and differentiated: when water is drunk, it is converted into urine, blood, and breath (CU 6, 5, 2); when a person dies and the elements of the body disperse, the blood and semen enter the water (BAU 3,2.13). A woman

may theoretically (though improbably) be included among the persons referred to in these texts; the first one poses no special problem for a woman, and the second may imply either that a man's blood and semen enter the water or that a woman's blood and (its equivalent) a man's semen enter the water. But since the word *purusa* is used to designate the person in this second sentence. It is almost certainly a man.

Semen: Semen, the essence of the male, is often mentioned in the Vedas, usually in ritual metaphors. *Retas*, the most important word for semen, has as its primary meaning "the outpouring of semen, "the flowing of semen" (Grassmann 1955, p.1181); in this sense it has the primary connotation of a process rather than a substance, though it is freely applied to many substances, including the embryo engendered by the seed (RV 1.164.36) (an ambiguity which is also reflected in an equally ambiguous term for the female organ of procreation, *garbha*, meaning womb or embryo). Gods are invoked to impel the seed of a man to procure a human birth (RV.10.184), but semen (*retas*) has a secondary, metaphorical use as applied to the fructifying rain from heaven, the "seed of the clouds" (RV 9.74.1;1.100.3). So, too *vrsti* (rain) and *vrsan* (a powerful, virile, or lustful man, or a bull) are both derived from *vrs* (to rain or pour forth). Seed links heaven and earth: man is engendered by divine seed (RV 9.86.28). The flames of Agni are kindled by the seeds of heaven, and the Soma oblation into the fire is regarded as a seed (RV 1.71.8; 5.17.3: 4,73.7). Closely related to semen is urine : the clouds piss down Soma from the "swollen men". And rain is the urine of the sacrificial horse, just as soma is the stallion's seed.

Female Seed: The Vedas begin to suggest that the woman has seed, just as the man does; significantly, this fluid is called "virile milk" (*vrsnyam payas*, more literally "bull-like" or "seed-like" milk): "The wife embraces her husband. Both of them shed the virile milk. Giving fourth, she milks (his) juice [*rasa*]" (RV 1.105.2bc). The word for juice (*rasa*) is a

nonsexual word for fluid in the Rg Veda; its primary meaning is "liquid." The fluid of life the sexual secretion (Filliozat 1949, p.126), and it comes to designate Soma, the oblation, an essence, or a delicious and life-giving elixir; only once (in the verse just cited) does it represent male (or female) seed. Sayana's gloss on this verse is illuminating : "The two set the ririle milk is motion by rubbing together, one against the other, for the sake of engendering progeny. Taking the juice, the vital seed of a man making it into the form of an embryo, she is milked—that is, she brings it forth in the form of a son." Where the text seems to say that the woman *gives* (female) seeds and takes the milk-seed of the man. Sayana says that she *takes* seed and is "milked" of a child, a view more in keeping with later Hinduism than with the Vedas, where the concept of "milked seed" (*dugdham viryam*) is common (AV.14.2.14d). The commentator reverses the point of the Vedic myth; though he is, I think, wrong about the Rg Veda, he is right about what he thinks, which is also of interest to us. The more paradoxical view of the Vedic text, which assigns a positive role to the woman, is replaced in the commentary by the more "acceptable" Hindu view of the woman who takes from her husband and give to her son. Both views continue to exist side by side in late tradition. Elsewhere, too, the Rg Veda implies that both mother earth and fathersky have seed (*retas*) RV 1.159.2;1.160.3;6.70.1). The Upanisads instruct a man who is about to impregnate his wife to say her "I am heaven, you are earth; let us embrace and place together seed to get a male child a son".

Shadvinsa-Brahmana

The *Gayatri Br.*, *Asyava Br.* and the *Pratigraha Brahmana*, sometimes met with as separate MSS, are parts of the *Tandya Br.* This, the second of the Sama-Veda Brahmanas, proclaims itself as really a supplement of the first. Though itself consisting of several books, it is in reality Book 26th of the *Panchavinsa-Brahmana*. It deals principally with sacrifices of expiation

and ceremonies of imprecation. The fifth book is of special interest as a picture of the time in reference to the daily occurrences of life, its omens and portents, with the rites to avert evil. "The ceremonies first given," Weber adds, "are those to be observed on the occurrence of vexatious events generally; then come those for case of sickness among men and cattle, of damaged crops, losses of precious things, &c.; those to be performed in the event of earthquakes, of phenomena in the air and in the heavens, &c., of marvellous appearances on altars and on the images of the gods, of electric phenomena and the like, and of miscarriages. "From various circumstances Weber concludes that this Brahmana is not older than the days of Magasthenes. Max Muller satisfies himself by simply remarking that it "must be of ver modern date." He however adds that "it mentions not only temples, but images of gods, which are said to laugh, to cry, to sing, to dance, to brust, to sweat, and to twinkle"; so that here, in any case, the Vedas are plainly committed to idolatry, and that of the rudes character.

Sayana says of the Shadvinsa, "that it both treats of such ceremonies as are not contained in the Tandya-Brahmana, and also gives points of divergence from the latter. It is chiefly expiatory sacrifices and ceremonies of imprecation that we find in it, as also short, comprehensive, general rules. The fifth book (which with some addition to the end, is also found as a separate Brahmana under the name of Adhuta Brahmana) "enumerates untoward occurrences of daily life, omens and portents, along with the rites to be performed to avert their evil consequences.

The Kalasa Brahmana is part of the Shadvinsha.

Sins

A well-developed expression of sensitivity to sin and the desire to get rid of it may be traced in the Samhitas. Varuna is the god who is invoked by sinners for forgiving them. He is

described as omniscient, who knows the thoughts and deeds of men. We find, a some hymns addressed to Varuna, that the poet makes appeals to him offering explanations for his misdeeds and begs to be excused. Besides this concept of sin as an offence against the gods, we find the more primitive idea of sin as pollution, which can be removed by physical means. Sin itself is viewed as something external and substantial, that can easily touch a perons as also can be washed off or removed. The black bird, associated with Nirrti, the goddess of misfortune, causes guilt on the person affected. The lowing of an animal at the sacrifice causes sin to the sacrifices and Agni is requested to remove it. The wailing of women or kinsmen, also, causes pollution. Thus AV.XIV.2.59-60, states "If these hairy people have danced together in thy house, doing evil with wailing, if this daughter of thine has wailed, from that sin let Agni and Savita release thee."

The idea of transference of sin from one to another is quite common. So we find that one seeks to transfer his sin another (RV.X.36.9).

It is needless to multiply examples. It seems that the concept of sin as something material and external, removable by a physical process, grew from the Vedic period, and developed to a great extent in the *Dharmasastras* which have dealt with it in the minutest deatil, and we shall have a fuller account of it in our section on the Smrtis. Along with this tendency towards ritualistic ethics, there germinated from the Vedic soil, the finer, subtler and spiritual aspect of morality, which blossomed forth in the Upanisads, and thence in the later systems of Hindu thought. These will be taken up in proper place.

From the idea of immortality and the belief in the fruitfulness of sacrifices developed later on the concept of the higher self, rebirth and *karma.*, which formed the fundamental assumptions of philosophical school of thought in India.

Sisna-Deva

The word *sisnadeva* has been put of various tests, the scholars have given various interpretaions for it; Garbe rendering it as *pucchadeva* ("Tail-gods"), the meaning being unclear; other scholars rendering it as the phallus, identified as *linga* in the later literature; Karmakar, A.P. rendering it as "gods possessed with *sisna*" (what is new in this rendering?); Shankarananda seeing "weavers" in the word; and, to cut the list of scholars short, Sukumar Sen connecting it with stump-worship, with *Muradeva* = root worship. The rendering "weavers" is based on the interpretation of Yaska (*asnatani sutrani* "starched threads", *Nir.*IV.6), while the rendering "phallus" takes the word *sisna* in the popularly known sense. It has been pointed out by the present author elsewhere, that the word *sisnadeva* does not indicate "phallus-worshippers", and that the word *sisna* does not conclusively, in all cases, indicate the penis or the phallus.

It has been stated, that there is no evidence of the killing of the *sisnadeva-s* by Indra (a point not noticed by other scholars); on the contrary, Indra is said to have excelled them by his *varpas* (which does not necessarily mean bodily strength) at one place (RV X.99.3), the only other being where they are desired to be kept away from the sacrifice (RV VII.21.5). The meaning *pucchadeva* implies the rendering *puccha* for *sisna*; and, it tallies with another compariosn, if we so make, *puccha*=*sepa*=(1) tail; and (2) male organ (cf. *sepatt* in Marathi; or *seput*, in the same language). Yaska himself is not quite sure about the meaning *asnatani sutrani*; for he rejoins' "*svangabhidhanam va syat*, "it may indicate the part of the body" (IV.6). When he comes to *sisna-devah*, he forwards no alternative interpretation, and takes *sisna* as the male organ (Ib., 20 *sisnam snathateh*; and Durga thereon). In *sisna-deva* there could, thus, be no doubt of any alternate rendering as *asnatani sutrani*; for that could hardly explain any person holding such "threads".

It is to be noted that the word *deva* does not always indicate a physical object, as is clear from such words as *anrta-deva* (RV VII.104.14). Again, the word *deva* does not mean “god” always; it has the sense of “sporting”, or “plying” (fr. /div). Thus, *antra-deva* would mean a person sporting with falsehood; and, by implication, it would mean a person who is given to false-speaking. This is exactly an abuse hit against Vasistha. Likewise, *sisna deva* should indicate a person who “sports the organ”, though he may not actually “play” with it. The word *sisna-deva*, very probably, is an abuse flung at the people who about showing their organ. In other words, they were nude. But, they appear to be formidable; for, the hatred of the Vedic sacrificers for them, though they are referred to only twice, is evident. This conjecture gets fleshed up by references to the nude, though equally of less occurrence. They are of great significance, as they are indicative of a probable cult of the nude. We take them for study.

- (i) RV VII.2.12:- *udhar na nagna jarante /*
 (“As do tech nude praise the *udhas*”, the *udhas* being the rain-cloud, the “under” that releases the rain=milk.
- (ii) RV X.61.9 : *maksu na vahniḥ prajaya upadnir*
agnim na nagna upa sidad udhah/

[Here we have a pun on the word *udhah* : (a) As the bull (*vahni*) approaches (sits upon) the *udhas* of his progeny; (b) so does the nude sit by the side of the fire (watching or attending on) the “udder”.]

In both the instances, the word *udhas* indicates the raincloud; and in the second image, in addition to the “udder”, we have the fire near which the nude sits. The sitting of the nude by the side of the fire does not appear to be to ward off cold, as is understood by Geldner. The mention of the nude in connection with the rain-cloud (*uhdas*, used as a symbol) does have a deeper meaning. Apart from the fact that nudity is closely associated with the rituals for the gain of rain, the

nude is indicated to be noted by the Vedic sacrificer, in another verse; and though it is solitary, it is clear:

- (iii) RV IV.25.7 : *na revata paniya sakhyam indro*
(a) sunvata suta-pah sangranite /
a(a)-sya vedah khidati hanti nagnam
vi sysvaye paktaye kevalo '(a-) bhut//

(Not with the wealthy Pani, who does not press (Soma for Indra), does the Soma-drinker Indra appreciate friendship; he destroys his (Pani's) wealth; kills the nude; for the well-presser (of Soma) and for the one who well fashions (cooks) the offering, alone, Indra becomes (friends).)

The verse marks the difference between a non-sacrificing wealthy person (here Pani) and the Vedic sacrificer. The point is, why should a *nagna* be mentioned here ? There is only one more place where the word *nagna* comes (RV VIII.89.2, where Soma is said to cover a nude), but that is not of any significance. The Panis, except of Brbu, have been exposed to vehement hatred by the Vedic seers. It is against his background that the mention of the *nagna* with them here has to be examined. The killing of the *nagna* shows great hatred for him; and the mention of the *nagna* together with the Pani should indicate that those two were in close association. Though the help from sources is meagre, the point put together would suggest :

- (i) The *nagna* was hated person for the Vedic sacrificer;
- (ii) The reason, probably, was that he could bring rain by controlling the *udhas* (cloud), may be by a ritual in which the fire played a part; in other words, the *nagna* was a rival ritualist, and was patronised by the wealthy Pani, whom the Vedic sacrificers hated because he would not invite them to officiate at any rituals, nor would he accept the Vedic ritual. The only exception was Brbu, who is praised by the Vedic sacrificer in lofty terms.

The Vedic sacrificers knew a cult of the nudes, which they hated. The hatred was more of an economic issue, rather than strictly religious one. This is clear from the glimpses of reconciliation of the Vedic sacrificers with people of other norms of life and rituals, such as *Yatis* and *Munis*, who, though of the same fold, followed different ways of life and did not accept the Vedic priestly rituals. The nudes, being hated out of jealousy, were taunted as *sisna-deva*. But, these people never left the field. Though the name *sisna-deva* lost currency in the later period, which only indicates that the nudes gained more acceptance in the then society, the practice of nudity continued as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the ascetic, who became and stayed on not only as a respected member of the ancient Indian (and even modern) society, but also came to be sought after.

Soma

The conception of Soma in the *Rgveda* is very peculiar. It appears in two forms—mortal and divine. The mortal Soma was a plant whose juice was extracted and offered to the god. In its divine form, Soma as praised by the seer with all the qualities and attributes common to other Rgvedic gods.

Vedic scholars, both Indian and European, have attempted to identify the soma plant, but up till now no definite conclusion has been arrived at with regard to its exact nature. The same is the problem in respect of the identification of the divine Soma. Indeed the paucity of exact references in the *Rgveda* is a hindrance to the clear identification of the plant or the god Soma. Consequently attempts have been made to understand Soma from the spiritual (*adhyatimika*) standpoint alone. This, however, could not put an end to the controversy regarding Soma.

Indeed, the apparently controversial opinions are nothing but the reflections of different developments of the Soma-idea through the ages. So, to understand Soma clearly, one has to

know primarily the exact implication of the term *soma* which has not been confined to a single meaning but has produced different meanings by way of semantic changes through the ages.

With this problem posited above, in mind, the present paper proposes to study in brief the gradual semantic development of the term *soma*. Thus, it may be said that the term *soma* first meant the inebriating juice of plants, secondly, the plants bearing soma, thirdly, the elixir of life and delight and lastly the god. We propose now to take them up, one by one.

The Inebriating Juice of Plants: It is true that none knows the name of the man who was the first drinker of Soma, nor is it possible to know it today because history preserves no record of him. But one thing is certain, the practice of taking intoxication even for spiritual elevation has been a necessity for man from very early times. This also was true in the discovery of soma. But it may be assumed, that, at the very outset, only the taste of the juice and not the mere sight of the plant produced in the mind of the discoverer a sense of elation and exhilaration for the time being. So, primarily, the juice was recognised and called *soma*. The term *soma* is derived from the root \sqrt{su} , 'to press', which means 'the juice, the pressed one'. The other name of soma like *andhas* and *indu* also mean the juice, though the former has been used as the plant name also. The word *pavamana*, used as an epithet to soma also fits the sense of the juice. Soma has been called also *sumnah*, which means 'pleasure'. The detailed description of soma in the ninth book at the *Rgveda* supports the view that the juice with the peculiar qualities captured the mind of the seer completely and became the chief source of attraction much more than the plants.

The Plant Bearing Soma: It is surprising that none of the seers of the *Rgveda* has devoted a hymn exclusively for the description of the soma plant which yielded the best oblation for the sacrifice. From the hymns addressed to soma in the *Rgveda* it is difficult to find out the exact nature of the physical

form of the plant. Plants in general have been a matter of praise to the seers (RV, 10.97). But why did not the seer described the soma plant? It should not be convincing that the seers who were so eloquent about the soma-juice had no knowledge about its yielder. It may be assumed that the soma plant was *not a single plant* and that there was group of plants from which the juice could be collected or extracted, or, in other words, plants bearing the particular juice were known as soma plants. Thus, any concrete description of the plant was rather impossible.

In the *Rgveda* has soma plant has been called as *osadhi* (RV, 10.85.2), *birudhah* (RV, 1.91.22), *udbhid* (RV, 8.79.3), *rasin* (RV, 9.97.14), *parnin* (RV, 9.82.21) etc. which are the names of plant in general. Once soma has been called 'the creator of all plants'. We also find the names of different regions as the birthplace of soma. The hill Munjavat was known as the place producing the best soma. The god Indra was known as very much fond of the soma of *Saryanavant* lake. All these appear to indicate different types of soma originating at different places. There is a clear and convincing proof of this in the ninth mandala of the *Rgveda* where different types of somas are mentioned:

ye samasah paravati ye arvavati sunvire

ye vada saryanavati

ye arjkesu krtvasu, ye madhye pastyanam

ye va janeshu pancasu (RV, 9.65.22-23)

"May these soma juices which are effused at a distance or nigh or on this Saryanavant (lake)—or amongst the Rajikas, or the Krtvas, or in the neighbourhood of the rivers' Sarsvati etc. or in five castes." (Tr., H.H.Wilson)

So far as the references in the Brahmanas are concerned, it appears that not only the original plants but even the substitutes also were not restricted to a single plant. In the medical

literature of Sanskrit more or less twentyfour types of soma plant have been mentioned. All these prove that the conception of the soma plant was not restricted to a single one.

So far as the third meaning of the term is concerned, we can say that the meaning of *soma* was not restricted to the juice or the plant only, but was extended to mean also the elixir of life and delight. Thus soma became the giver of pleasure, strength and life. It was called the divine amborisa. A seer proclaimed once: "We have drunk soma, and become immortal. The Soma drink gave pleasure to the gods also and, so, is called *devamadanah* (RV, 9,44.1). Indra performed his heroic deeds by drinking soma. It is even said that all the gods are powerful through the power of soma: *somenaditya balinah*, RV, 10.85.2. In the sacrifice we find that Soma juice was mixed with other elements like milk, barley, curd, mead, ghee, water etc. Thus the oblation soma became a mixture of the elements giving life and delight. The abode of soma was also known as the above of delight. Thus it may be said that neither the plant nor the juice was adorable to the seers, but the effect of the drink, the taste of immortal bliss was longed for and so by soma they meant the elixir of life and delight.

The supernatural quality inherent in Soma made the seer to mediate upon the presiding deity behind it, and they finally recognised the existence of the god of the same name in it. They invoked the god to flow for ever, giving life and delight to all. Thus Soma became one of the principal deities in the Vedic pantheon. This god shares all the attributes of other Vedic gods and is mostly associated with Indra. The conception of the deity Soma as the moon is not distinct in the *Rgveda* but in the *Brahmanas* it has been identified with the moon clearly.

Thus all these meanings taken together give a clear picture of the idea of Soma of the *Rgveda*, which should be borne in mind while identifying Soma.

Sraddha

The Rgveda deifies *sraddha*, 'faith' through which the fire of sacrifice is kindled, ghee offered, and wealth obtained; and which is invoked at morning, mid-day and night. According to Keith the conception clearly means belief in the existence and the generosity of the gods in its first appearance. In the *Nighantu*, *sraddha* is equated with *satya*, 'truth'. In the *Amara*, *sampratyaya*. and *sprha* are given as the synonyms or *sraddha*. Both Benfey and Max Muller derive *srat* in the word *sraddha*—obviously wrongly—from the root *sru*. According to F. Singh the Vedas seem to derive the word from *srat* which may be equated with Greek *credo*. That scholar derives *sraddha* (faith, confidence) from *sradh* 'to confide' to put faith into'. Singh adds: "The root *sradh* 'to confide' to put faith into'. Singh adds: "The root *sradh* 'to confide' might itself have originally come from *siras* and *dha*, the action of faith being somewhat identical with putting one's head (physically as well as mentally) into the object of faith".

The *brahmanas* make her out to be the daughter of the sun, or of *Prajapati*. The TB gives an interesting story in which *sraddha* plays a significant role. According to that myth, "*sraddha* told *Prajapati*, 'you are tired on account of (the lack of) *sraddha*. I am *sraddha*. make offerings unto myself so that you will have the true *sraddha*, and, accordingly, will know the world of heaven". In the context of the true *sraddha*, it may be pointed out here that, in the ABr a *yajamana* is called 'truth' and his wife 'sraddha.' The TBr, on the other hand, refers to *Sraddha* as a mother of *Kama*.

The *Upanisads* often preach that *sraddha* is a necessary factor in search of knowledge. The *ChU* say that one can think only when he has *sraddha*. According to that Upanisad chole attachment *sraddha*, and thought show a chain of causation. As is found in the earlier Vedic texts, the *Upanisads* also connect *sraddha* with the truth. Connecting the austerity with *sraddha* the *Upanisads* refer to the sages who mediate

upon *sraddha*, the truth. Accordingly, the chain of causation is put forth in different terms. as: austerity, *sraddha*, and wisdom. On the background of the *Aranyaka*-passage, which connects Prana with *sraddha*, it may pointed out that, according to the *prasna-U* *sraddha* is born of Prana. On the other hand, the *BrU* argues that, *sraddha*, being intelligible through the heart, lies in the heart only. The concept of *a-sraddha* is referred to in a peculiar maner in the *TaitU*. It is said there one should give away with *sraddha* and accept with *a-sraddha*! The significance of *a-sraddha*, of course, indicates further development of the concept.

Also in the *Srauta* texts *sraddha* is significantly mentioned. In the context of the Agnihotra, it is enjoined that the sacrificer should pray to the sacred fires in the evening with the formula meaning, "May not *Sraddha* leave me; may I become able to possess you, O fires!". Moreover, *Sraddha*, as the second divinity, receives cooked rice in the second *Apadya Isti*, which is to be performed by him who desires to attain the heaven after death. Similarly, a cow, whose calf is not living, is offered to *sraddha* is the *Svarga* sacrifice which is to be offered with the same intension. It is significant that to the question: "How is a sacrifice to be commenced ?", the *Bau-S* answers: 'It is to be commenced with *sraddha* and benediction'. Similarly, at the onclusion of a sacrifice, the *Yajamana* adores *Agni* and goddess *Sraddha* to remove away the sins committed by the (sacrificial) priests, knowingly or unknowingly. In this connection, it is significant that the epithet *devi* is ascribed to *sraddha*.

In the thread-ceremony, girdle of the boy to be initiated, is one of the major things. And that girdle is called 'the daughter of *sraddha*! On the other hand, the mantra: *sraddha ca no ma vigamat*: "May not *sraddha* rite, for, *sraddha* bears its name of that which is connected with *sraddha*, from the fact that the presents to the *Bramanas* which accompany the offerings to the dead reveal the faith of the offerer in the

Brahmanas.” It may be recalled, moreover, that, in the *Upanisads* *sraddha* is closely connected with austerity. Similar is the description of the ‘daughter of *Sraddha*’ referred to above, as: *tapaso ‘dhijata*. With the same significance, the *Bhar-G* prescribes the following mantra: *sraddham tapasi juhomi svaha/ Tapah traddhayam juhomi svaha //* Further, the *Grhyasutras* peculiarly connect garland, and accordingly, neck with *sraddha*.

The sage Jamadagni is said to have brought a garland for *sraddha*, the *kamaya (/dhi) ni*. One may compare the epithet *kamaya (/dhi) ni* with the description of *sraddha* as ‘the mother of kama’, referred to already above. Through the garland *sraddha* seems to be connected with the neck, for, with the *mantra: sraddha bindurasi, bhasma* is applied to the neck. Further, in the daily *Vaisvadeva*, Agni is specially adored to grant *sraddha* and wisdom. The close connection of *sraddha* with wisdom, of course, is an old concept. The same sequence of *sraddha* and wisdom is also found in the *Upakarma*, in which both of the receive oblations of clarified butter. It may be pointed out here that the *Upakarma* leads the performer to such a stage in life when learning of *Vedas* may be commenced. It seems that in another rite, which is equally connected with the learning of the lore, namely the thread ceremony, *Sraddha* is significantly referred to. The boy to initiated, adores *Aditi* to tie up the upper garment in his arm-pit for having wisdom, *sraddha*, etc.

Srnjayas

Another Aryan tribe which is faintly referred to in the *Rgveda* in the *Srnjaya*. Their king *Daivavata* is said to have defeated the *Vrcivants* and the *Turvasa*-king (RV VI.27.7 “He (Indra) subdued the *Vrcivants* and the *Turvasa* for *Srnjaya Daivavata*”; for the rout of the *Vrcivants* see earlier vv. 5,6). Thus both *Sudas Brarata* and the *Srnjayas* were enemies of *Turvasa* (cf. RV VII. 18.6 ref. earlier); but it seems that the

Srnjayas and the Bharatas got assimilated as both are mentioned in the same 'praise of gifts' (*dana-stutis*), "I gained from Divodasa" and "The Srnjayas propitiated the Bharadvajas" (VI.47.23,25). Later, in the Brahmana period they got assimilated with the great clan of Kurus, which also included the Braratas and others to form the Kuru-Pancala clan; for the same priest is said to have performed for the Kurus and the Srnjayas. "With that sacrifice, indeed, did Devabhaga Srautarsa perform, he who was the priest of both Kurus and the Srnjayas" (*Sat. Br.* II.4.4.5).

Through the *Rgveda* does not mention the Kurus as a clan as such, their presence can be inferred from the names Kurusravana and Pakasthama Kaurayana (VII.3.21 Pakasthama Kaurayanah; and X.33.4 "I have chosen the king Kurusravana, the son of Trasadasyu", *Kurusravanam Trasadasyavam*). Trasadasyu, as has been noted earlier, was the son of the Puru king Purukutsa, which, in its turn, shows the merger of the Purus with the Kurus.

Statecraft

Those who are not well-versed in the *vedas* and do not know of the different branches of science with the *vedas* deal often labour under the illusion that the concept of the nation is of recent origin and that the seers and saints of the *vedic* age had no idea of the nation or of political administration. But the fact is that there is no subject under the sun on which the *vedas* do not shed light. Political science and the concepts of nation are as old as the *vedas* themselves; it is so because the *vedas* are receptacles of the revealed knowledge capable of leading to the all-round progress and prosperity of all mankind and also to the welfare of all living beings.

It would not be proper to read any specific political 'ism' of modern times into the *vedas*; not could it be apt to declare unequivocally that absolute monarchism is upheld by the *vedas*. If at all any political concept of the modern age comes near

the *vedic* concept of political organisation, it is democracy. But it would be error to say that the *vedic* concept of democracy agrees in every detail with the modern concept. All that the *vedas* do is to supply a permanent and sound basis for the political structure to be erected according to the need of the changing times. The readers will themselves see how great the *vedic* concept of politics is.

The *vedic* concept of a welfare state, of a happy and prosperous nation is to be found in the following *mantra*:

आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायताम्
 आ राष्ट्रे राजन्यः सरूऽइषव्योऽतिव्याधी,
 महारथो जायतां दोगधी धेनुर्वोदानह्वान
 आशुः सप्तिः पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रथेष्ठाः
 सभेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां
 निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलवत्यो
 न ओषधय पच्यन्तां योगक्षमो नः कल्पताम् ॥

to achieve the end in view, (ichchantah bradram) desiring universal prosperity. (tasmaat) Out of that, (jaatam) is born (raashtram) the nation, (balam) and strength (ojah cha) and splendour, (tat) so (devah) let the learned and noble men (upa sam namantu) have the best regard (asmai) for this principle.

Let us build up our nation on the strong bedrock of these twin principles, selfless service and the determination to bear cheerfully all suffering (for the sake of the cause) and thus pave the way to international co-operational and ultimately to a world government to which all other national governments willingly transfer a part of their freedom in order to keep the world free from the scourage that is war.

Stone-work

Stone-weapons are mentioned in the *Rgveda* (VII.10.5 “(weapons) that are heated with fire (*agnitaptebhih*) and killing with stone”, *asmahanmabhih*). The thunderbolt of

Indra was fashioned from the mountain (Ibid.v.ut *taksatam svaryam parvatebhyah*). The gods Soma and Indra kill with the weapon "like the stone" (Ibid.v.22 *drsada iva*). Stone-axes are mentioned in the context of the ritual (X.101 10 *vasibhis taksata asmanmayibhih*). The citadels of stone (IV.30.20 "the citadels of Stone did Indra amash", *asmanmayinam puram indro vy asyat*) indicate that stone was used, by the enemies of the Indra-worshippers for the citadel-walls. There is also mention of the stone-reservoir and the stone-wheel set on the well for drawing water (II.24.4 *asmasyam avatam*; ands X.101.7 *avatam asma-cakram*). The pounding of corn was done by stone, and with the stone, specially prepared, corn was crushed (AV. II.31.1 "I smite the worms as the *khalva*- corn by the stone; *Jaiminiya Br.* I.82 "With the stone-made upper devide (*drsad-upalena*) they crush the corn for the offering"). Soma was crushed by the stone called *adri* or *giri*; and it is mentioned at various places.

Sun

The Sun and the Moon have an eternal fascination for man. The moon was treated rather indifferently by the Vedic poets. But the Sun is glorified as a functional God, in a multi-imaged sweep, as the Vedic Aryans were essentially practical people.

It must not be overlooked that, the Rgveda, apart from being a sacred book of revelations, is also a book of nature poetry. The Vedic hymns are the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings recording the reactions of devout seers, rich in, what Coleridge calls, *esemplastic* imagination. As Shakespeare says "The poets eyes rolling in fine frenzy".

The Rgvedic poetry is a product of poetic imagination. Whether the imagination flowered on the polar region, or in the Caucataus or the rivers of Afghanistan, or on the banks of the Sindhu, and the Ganges in the Saptasindhu region of Bharat. Besides the Vedic poetry was composed by different poets, at different places and in different times. The art of writing

being unknown, it was a mass of floating oral literature relayed from mouth to mouth. That is one of the reasons why the Vedic literature is the most chaste and original, being uninfluenced by any other literature of culture. Rgvedic poetry is thus a product of beautiful and hearty making power, the creative faculty, of the Vedic seers.

Dr. R.N.Dandekar has rightly observed that the Vedic mythology is not only a naturalistic interpretation of the Vedas, but it is a dynamic and growing process, an evolutionary mythology. One of the reasons for this evolution seems to be the poetic imagination of the Vedic poets who saw poetry in a flash of heaven sent moments, true to their poetic experience. That is why we find contradictory epithets of Gods, a mist of mysticism and overlapping abstractions in the Vedic mythological representation even of the Sun who is one of the most transparent of the Gods.

The Sun cult very ancient dating back to the Indo-European period, Sun was Helios (Greek), Sol (Latin), Sauil (Gothic), Saule (Lithuanian) and Solnze (Slavoni).

The Sun is celebrated in a multi-imaged sweep as Surya, Savitr, Mitra, Pusan and Visnu which are generally accepted as solar deities. Vivaswat and Bhaga are also sometimes treated as Solar Gods, by scholars like Dr. P.S.Deshmukh. I would confine myself to the five major unmistakable Sun Gods.

In the Indo-Iranian period Mithra, is probably the Sun God. There Sun Gods are classified by the Rgvedic poets as the celestial Gods like Dyaus, Varuna, sun, the atmospheric Gods like Indra, Marut, Rudra or the terrestrial Gods like the Agni and Soma. Wilkins calls the Sun God as the light to deities. The Sun is the celestial God of the heaven, giving light to the world. All these forms of the Sun is the celestial God of the heaven, giving light to the world. All these forms of the Sun emphasize a distinct aspect of the Sun.

Surya represents the natural visible phenomena of the

concrete orb of the Sun. He was born out of the eye of the Primordial Being. The Moon was born from his mind. He is born of Gods places he is said to be created by Indra, Indra-Visnu, Indra-Soma, Indra-Varuna. dyaus is also said to be Sun's father and Additi his mother, Usas his wife. This mythological origin and family paraphernalia of the Sun is essentially connected with natural phenomena of the sky, the dawn etc. But he is the elder of the heavenly luminary, the moon being brought into being by the creator after the Sun.

The poet says 'O gods, ye brought Surya forward who was lying hidden in the sea. This clearly refers to the Sun rising out of the waters. He is said to rise refulgent on the bosoms of the Dawns. He rides in a chariot drawn by seven bay horses, chief among whom is Etasa. This clearly refers to the sunbeams. The spectacle of Sun's rising over water is spring of joy to every eye.

The Sun shines forth giving light and heat. Reference is made to his Lustre as Jyoti and he is called Bhasvan. By his light darkness and stars with their beams are driven away like thieves. Milton in the 'Paradise Lost' says 'At whose bidding, the stars hide their diminished heads'. Sun is invoked to bless men with fervent heat. He is a form of Agni. He is bright and creates the day and the night. He measures the day.

Surya is all seer. Due to the Sun, the world wakes up and repairs to rest. He scatters gloom and impels every moving thing.

The Sun is intimately connected with the eye probably due to his shape and alleged power to see. He is described as being born out of the eyes of the Primordial Being. He is the eye seeing all (Visva Caksu). He is eye the Gods. Sun protects the human eye and lends them lustre and the power to see. The poet prays that let us see the Bright eye, for hundred autumns. Being the eye of the God, he is called as the spy of the God.

The Sun removes reptile posion and cures heart diseases and

anaemia. He kills the unseen demons. The Sun prolongs life by freeing people from sickness and sin.

That Surya was a natural phenomena whose connection with the luminary was always present to the poet's mind quite further clear from references to the Solar eclipse when people are said to be bewildered. They could not judge where they were. It was believed that Rahu swallowed the Sun and Atri rescued the Sun.

The Sun, like the Usas, was a source of lyrical inspiration to the Vedic poets. In the Vedic imagery the Sun is felt to be like flying hawk, or a red bird with strong wings travelling through the sky or the white horse brought by the Dawn or even as a precious gem. Surya reminds the poet of the poet of the spotted bull.

The only Solar myth in the Rgveda is that Indra conquers him and steals his disc. This may probably refer to the natural phenomena of the Sun's obscuration due to thunderstorm as Indra may be taken in this context to represent the storm God.

There are ten hymns addressed to Surya in the Rgveda. The name Surya is a derivation of the word Svar i.e. light. It is almost akin to the Avestan name Hvare (var) meaning the Sun. The Avestan Var has also a chariot equipped with swift horses and is conceived as the eye of the great Ahur, the principal Avestan God.

Savitr: Turning from Surya to Savitr we may ask why a different deity is conceived round the Sun. Oldenburg suggests an answer.

Epithets, which at first emphasized a particularly important side of a natural being become god's names and new gods. Thus Savitr, the 'inspirer', 'the life giver', and Vivasvat, 'the shining', were at first epithets, then names of the Sun, and finally they became independent Sun-gods beside Surya'.

What is the difference between Surya and Savitr. Savana says,

Sun before rising and setting is Savitr, while at the time of rising and setting it is Surya. Some scholars opine that on the whole Surya appears to represent Sun just after rising. This view does not stand the test of textual data about Surya. The reference to Sun's heat, eclipse and other things point out to the conclusion that Surya represents the Sun in its entire gamut from rising till setting.

Savitr is the Sun while rising and setting. The poet asks Savitr has illuminated the sky, but where is the Sun. Savitr bids the Sun approach us. He encompasses the night on both sides. Savitr blends with the ray of the Sun. It proceeds day and night. Venkataraniah says Savitr is Aurora Borealis, while Michalki suggests that Savitr is the Zodiacal light appearing in the West after dusk, and before dawn.

Savitr is the golden God with golden hands and golden eyes. He travels in a golden chariot clad in a golden armour. These glittering epithets are obviously inspired by the sight of the golden hues decking the canvass of the sky just before rising and after setting of the Sun. Hymn I.35 describes Savitr as a Golden God in all his glory and splendour.

Hymn I.35 describes in lyrical raptures Savitr in the early morning. He rides in a chariot of two horses decked with pearls. He has illuminated the quarters, three desert regions and the seven Rivers. Similarly Hymn II.38 portrays the ravishing beauty of Sun-set. In the evening the bird and the beastmen and warriors come home to rest and relax.

Savitr is the Lord of intellect. This golden God inspired Visvamitra to see the famous Gayatri mantra. May we attain that excellent glory of Savitr the God, so may be stimulate our intellect. This passage has been the morning and evening prayer for the Aryans for millenniums. Thus Savitr may be said to stand for the sacred element in the Sun. The reason for this may be possibly that the Vedic poet believed that the earth was created from Savitr. Even modern Astro-physicists

believe that the earth was originally part of the giant Sun which split up with a big bang and catapulted into separate orbits the planets of the solar system.

The name savitry is derived from Sun (6th conjugation). Sunati to stimulate. Savitr is in fact a great stimulation of life and activity. There are 11 hymns addressed to Savitr. Macdonell observes 'as differentiated from Surya, he is a more abstract deity'. He is in the eyes of the Vedic poets the divine power of the Sun personified, while Surya is the more concrete deity, in the conception of whom the outward form of the Sun's body is never absent owing to the identity of his name with that of the orb.

Mitra: Mitra is generally invoked by the Vedic poet along with Varuna. However, we find a single hymn addressed to Mitra in the Rgveda III. He stirs men to work by the words. He watches men with eyes which are never closed. He brings all men together. He is a God which brings men together. He is the benevolent power of the Sun especially in the morning as sustainer of people.

He is connected with Avestan Sun God Mithra. He possesses horses and a chariot and Haome offers sacrifice to Mithra. Lousise Grey derives the word Mithra from Ma to measure, indicating the Sun's function to measure the day. Keith concludes that the Iranian Mithra is the same Sun God as the Vedic-Mitra.

Dr. R.N.Dandekar and Scharader hold that Mitra is no solar deity. But apart from the contents of the conclusive Mitra hymn (III.59), identifying Mitra with Sun, there is clear proof in a savitr hymn (V.81) mentioning in terms that Savitr is Mitra, through his righteous laws. The Mitra is clearly identified with the Sun.

Mitra is one of the Gods by which the Hittite Treaty of Mittany entered into 1400 B.C. is sworn.

Pusan: Pusan is also generally regarded as a Solar deity. There are 8 Hymns addressed to him. He seems to be favourite with Bharadwaja because out of 8 as many as 6 are attributed to the authorship of Bharadwaja in the VIth Mandala. The word Pusan is derived from Pus to nourish or prosper. He is a God which nourishes people. He the guardian of cattle, horses and men. The poet invokes him to protect their cattle from falling in wells. He is also believed to restore the lost cattle to men. He is guide of travellers and protector of cattle. he is prayed to, drive away by his golden sword the wolf and the robber from the wood.

Some personal details are available for this God by way of personification. He moves in golden boats, in the sea of the sky. His weapon is golden awl or sword. He has braided hair.

In having braided hair he is like Rudra, who has also braided hair. Pusan has a beard which he softly shakes. He wears woollen garments. Unlike Surya and Savitr, whose chariot is drawn by horses, Pusan's chariot is pulled by goats. He is described as a Pasupa i.e. a protector of cattle. He is called Protector of paths.

It will be seen from this material that Pusan appears to be a pastoral God of the Aryans whose civilisation in the Vedic times was mainly pastoral.

It is suggested that he may be the Sun just after the day break. He represents the beneficent power of the Sun. Winternitz suggests that Pusan must be a Sun-God, of a small shepherd tribe. Schrader has suggested that Pusan may be the constellation of Revatr. Pusan is clearly of Sun God, the poet in terms invokes Savitr as Puan.

Visnu: Visnu also appears to be the Sun-God. He represents the Sun's motion and activity. Sun glides through three regions with three steps which he takes with quickness. He travels swiftly and takes wide steps. He is called Urugaya. He strode forth three times over the earth. Visnu takes three steps but none has

reached the region of the third step is in unknown region, that unknown country from whose borne no traveller returns.

Visnu joined with Indra and destroyed Sambara's 99 fenced castles. Visnu assumes another form in battle. This verse may be the nucleus of the subsequent ten incarnations of Visnu. hence B.K.Ghosh opines that Visnu probably is the personification of the activity of the Sun, whose passage through the three divisions is referred in his three steps. Visnu's two steps are visible but the third one, the highest, is in a place where there is a spring of honey in an invisible region beyond the flight of birds.

The Sun's disc later on, in the mythology, became the Sudarsana of Visnu.

Oldenberg who is called as the anit-solar mythologist says that Visnu is not the Sun. On the other hand, Monier Williams and Bloomfield and others assert that Visnu is the Sun. It is submitted that the latter view appears to be more consistent with textual data.

There is some controversy over the identification of Visnu's third step. 'Aurnabhav' is followed by some Eruopean scholars who say that the third step referred to the setting of the Sun. I think from the description viz. that the third step is invisible to men, being beyond the flights of the birds, rich in honey-springs where pious men dwell, point out heaven that is to the above of the Sun during night.

Sun is perennial interest, never obsolete but ever modern. Sun may be said to be upto date. Aryan civilization in the Vedic times was a civilisation. Hence Sun, the Lord of the day, was deified by the Vedic poets in his different aspects of light and lustre, heat and energy. These different forms of the solar deities emphasise a distinct aspect of the Sun. 'Surya is the concrete luminary, shining above the horizon after its rise to setting. Savitr is the golden deity before rising and after setting Lord of intellect which inspired the Gayatri Mantra. Mitra is

the benevolent power of the nature, celebrated even by the Iranian poets. Pusan represents the Sun in its aspect as a guardian and protector of cattle and men. He is pastoral God of the Aryans whose civilisation in the Vedic times was pastoral. He restores men to their lost property.

An interesting hymn in the 5th Mandala, No. 81 which conclusively establishes that Savitr, Surya, Mitra and Pusan who are mentioned in two verses of that hymns are the Sun Gods.

Thus Visnu is clearly a Sun God.

The Vedic Aryans were essentially practical people with high sense of utility. They knew the curative power of Sun rays, from poisons of reptile etc. Sun was an instrument of natural therapy for curing diseases. The Sun prolongs the life. He brushes aside darkness and gives light, heat and energy and impels men to activity. His connection with eye is unquestionable. He sprang from the eye of Purusa and is himself the eye of the God, who inspires the world.

Like Usas the Sun inspired beautiful poetry due to fine comprehension of nature. See for example hymn II-38.

Recently Dr. Poppuli, the Scandinavian Indus valley scholar opined that the Saturn may be the nucleus of the mythological Visnu. From the Rgvedic data I, submit that the Sun can be reasonably taken to be the beginning of Visnu.

It is said that familiarity breeds contempt. However, familiarity can breed beautiful poetry too as in the case of Sun. It is true that there is nothing new under the Sun. It is qually true that there is nothing new about the Subn even in the Rgveda.

Sun is the vital breath of animate and inanimate things, the bright luminary, imperishable in the heavens sustaining and inspiring mankind without distinction.

After all we may agree with Kaegi that the cheif importance of Veda lies in the very extraordinary fullness which it gives to the student of history of civilisation.

Taittiriya-Brahmana

The Taittiriya Brahmana is divided into three Kanadas or Books, of which the first is sub-divided into eight chapters, which in their turn are further sub-divided into many sections called *anuvakas*. The second and third Kanda are sub-divided into nine *anuvakas* each; and each anuvaka is devoted to a separate series of rituals; including the entire circle of the ancient domestic sacrifices. In addition to these there is appended an Aranyaka and an upanishad.

The first Kanda gives an account of the rituals connected with the establishment of the household fire. Then follow in succession the rituals connected with the bringing in of the cattle and milking them, the oblation of fermented Soma juice and co-ordinate and subsidiary rituals, and ending with the coronation sacrifices.

The second Kanda ends the continuation of the coronation ceremony, but it is chiefly devoted to the fire sacrifices, known as Agnihotra, including invocations to a number of divinities, and a special story of the creation of man, &c. and of the origin of the word *svaha* and of the sacrifice called Agnihotra.

The third Kanda treats of the constellations, rituals of the

warning and waxing moon, and full and new moon, human sacrifices, and those of special animals, expiations connected with defects, the horse sacrifice and a number of other oblations.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, to give, as he says, "an idea of the jejune character of the myths" of this Brahmana, cites in his introduction, the following explanation of why a cow immediately on calving should not be milked. "Certain descendants of Angira, the expounder of the 4th Veda, had a lean white milch cow, which for want of grass lived on the pressed stalks of the Soma vine. The sight of this grieved the owners much, and they performed a sacrifice which brought on plenteous rain, every drop of which grew up into nutritious vegetables. The Pitris besmeared them with poison when the cow was affected, and appeared diseased before the sacrificers. They enquired who had caused the evil, whereupon the Pitris said, 'We co-sharers of the ceremony, have caused this.' The sacrificers then gave a share of the sacrifice to the Pitris who benignantly removed the poison. When the cow was fattened by profusion of fodder, the calf was let loose and requested by the sacrificers to drink a little milk and leave the rest for sacrifice. The calf refused to do so unless they would engage to milk the cow for the first ten days after calving, and to allow the calf to suck for a period equal to one-fifth of the day or night after the morning and evening milking. The calf which drinks for a longer period is cursed by Rudra."

The above and the story of the creation which will be found under the heading *Creation*, are the only specimens Dr. Mitra gives of this Brahmana in his Introduction to it.

The Yajur-Veda has come down to us in two parts or forms—the one called the black or Dark Yajus, the other the White or Bright Yajus. The matter is practically common, but the arrangement very materially differs. In the Black Yajus the sacrificial formulas, their explanations and the account given

of their ceremonials are all rendered as one connected whole, and evidently contemporaneous as to their origin, all following close upon the hymn or Mantras, the Sanhita proper—to which they form a true supplement. In the White Yajus, on the other hand, the formulas, and their explanations and ritual are entirely separated from one another, the first being assigned to the Sanhita, and their explanation and ritual to the Brahmana, as in the Rig-and Sama-Vedas. Thus it will be seen that each of the two forms of the Yajur Veda has quite independent Brahmanas. Tradition and internal evidence bear upon the schism. The ancient Yajur Veda school of priests was known as Charka. The word is used, because of this schism, as a term of reproach. In a list preserved of people who are to be sacrificed at the Purusha-medha, is found the name Charaka-Acharya, the teacher of the Charakas, as the proper victim to be offered to Dushkrita or Sin. “This passage,” as Max Muller remarks, “together with similar hostile expressions in the Satapatha Brahmana, was evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient Schools of the Adhvaryus.”

The writers of the different Brahmanas were divided into differing and frequently opposing schools, amounting as we have just seen to direct enmity. Those of the Black Yajus manifested real hostility to those of the White Yajus; and the feeling was returned with interest. The former were called Taittiriya, a name to explain which it is said that the pupils of this school of priests were transformed into partidge (*tittiri*) in order to pick up the Yajus-verses disgorged by one of their companions who was worth with his teacher. Weber thinks the legend originated in the nature of the Black Yajus, which is “a motley undigested jumble of different pieces, represented in the story by the variegated appearance of the partridge.” Another of the principal school of the Black Yajus is supposed to owe its name Khandikiyas, to the same fact that the Black Yajus is made up of *Khandas*, fragment. The White (*Sukla* or *Suddha*) is on the other hand so called either because the Mantras and Brahmanas are so clearly distinguished from one

another, or because the Mantras had been cleared and separated from the Brahmanas, and thus the whole made more lucid and intelligible, as contrasted with the Black (*krishna*) in which the verses and Brahmanas proper are mixed together and consequently less intelligible. The Kathaka is the only work of the Brahmana order mentioned by name by the great Sanskrit writers as belonging to this school of the Black Yajus. .

The Brahmana portion of the works of the Apastamba School is “extremely meagre as regards the ritual, and gives but an imperfect picture of it. It is however peculiarly rich in legends of a mythological character.”

Among the legends of the Maintra Brahmana of the Black Yajus is that of King Brihadratha, who, penetrated by the nothingness of earthly things, resigned the sovereignty into the hand of this son and devoted himself to contemplation, is there instructed by Sakayana upon the relation of the soul to the world. Sakayana communicates to him what Maitreya had said upon this subject. The Brihadratha here mentioned is identified with Brihadratha, King of Magadha, who according to the Mahabharat (ii. 756), gave up the sovereignty to his son Jarasandha (afterwards slain by the Pandus) and retired to the wood of penance. On this Weber remarks—“I cannot forbear connecting with the instruction here stated to have been given to a king of Magadha by a Sakayanya the fact that it was precisely in Magadha that Buddhism, the doctrine of Sakyamuni, found a welcome. I would even go so far as to conjecture that we have here a Brahmanical legend about Sakyamuni. Maitreya, it is well known, is with the Buddhists the name of the future Buddha, yet in their legends the name is also often directly connected with their Sakyamuni. Having reference to the reading of the Buddhists concerning transmigration, the two facts are not at all inconsistent with one another.”

The doctrine of the Maitra Upanishad is in close connection with the opinions of the Buddhists, although from its

Brahmanical origin it is naturally altogether free from the dogmas and mythologies peculiar to Buddhism. At the present time there are Maitra Brahmanas living near Bhadgaon, at the foot of the Vindhya, with whom other Brahmans do not eat in common; 'the reason may have been the very early Buddhist tendencies of many of them'.

A large number of the Brahmanas of the Black Yajus are known only by quotations from them which are occasionally met with in other works.

As the Upanishad of this Brahmana partakes a good deal of the character of an ordinary Brahmana, its opening words may be quoted as of special interest as giving the original meaning of Om, the most sacred word in Hinduism. They runs thus : "Let a man meditate on the syllable Om, called the *Udgitha*, for the *Udgitha* (a portion of the Sama-Veda) is sung, beginning with Om. The full account however, of Om is this:—The essence of all things is the earth, the essence of the earth, is water, the essence of water the plants, the essence of plants man, the essence of man speech, the essence of speech the Rig-Veda. The essence of the Rig-Veda the Sama-Veda, the essence of the Sama-Veda the *Udgitha* (which is Om). That *udgitha* is the best of all essences, the highest, deserving the highest place, the eighth. What then is the *Rik*? What is the Saman? What is the *Udgitha*? This is the question. The *Rik* indeed is speech, Saman is breath, the *Udgitha* is the syllable Om. Now speech and breath, or *Rik* and Samna from one couple, and that couple is joined together in the syllable Om. When two people come together, they fulfil each other's desire. Thus he who knowing this meditates on the syllable Om, the *Udgitha* becomes indeed a gratifier of desires. That syllable is a syllable of permission, for whenever we permit anything we say Om, yes. Now permission is gratification. He who knowing this meditates on the syllable Om; the *Udgitha*. becomes indeed a gratifier of desires. By that syllable does the threefold knowledge (the Sacrifice)

proceed. When the priest gives an order, he says Om : when the priest recites, he says Om; when the priest sings, he says Om.—all for the glory of that syllable, “&c., &c.

Tandya-Brahmana

The first and most important of these Brahmanas is the *Tandya*, which is also called the *Praudha* and *Panchavinsa*. It is thus called because of its containing 25 books. Like the others, it presupposes the three-fold order of priests and the three groups of hymns comprised under their own names, and more especially the hymns of the Rig-Veda, and as derived from them, those of the Sama-Veda. Weber describes the contents of the Tandya Brahmana as “in the main of a very dry and unprofitable character; for in mystic trifling it often exceeds all bounds... Nevertheless from its great extent, this work contains a mass of highly interesting legends as well as of information generally. It refers solely to the celebration of the Soma sacrifices and to the chanting of the *samans*, accompanying it, which are quoted by their technical names. These sacrifices were celebrated in a great variety of ways; there is one special classification of them according as they extended over one day or several, or finally over more than 12 days. The latter could only be performed by Brahmanas, and that in considerable numbers, and might last 100 days, or even several years.” Fancy the one sacrifice lasting several years in its performance!

The sacrifice known as *Vratyastomas* by which Indians of Aryan origin, but not living according to the Brahmanical system, and Non-Aryans obtained admission to the Brahman community, are of special interest. The accounts giving of them are preceded by a description of the dress and mode of life of those how are to offer them : “They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends, shoes, and sheepskins folded double; their leaders are distinguished by

brown robes and silver neck-ornaments; they pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a constant state of confusion; they speak the same language as those who have received Brahmanical consecration, but nevertheless call what is easily spoken hard to pronounce.”

The following words from this Brahmana are, to say the least, suggestive of thought:

- (1) “The Lord of creature offered himself a sacrifice for the benefit of the *devas*,” p.410. The *devas* were mortals who thus became divine or glorified. On this the following comment may be taken from apastamba (ii. 7, 16)—“Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell (after death) with the gods and Brahma in heaven.”
- (2) “Oh thou animal limb, now being consigned to the fire; thou art the annulment of sins committed by gods. Thou art the annulment of sins committed by men. Thou art the annulment of sins committed by ourselves. Whatever sins we have committed by day or night, thou art the annulment thereof. Whatever sins we have committed sleeping or awake, thou art the annulment thereof. Whatever sins we have committed, knowing or unknown, thou art the annulment thereof. Thou art the annulment,—of sin.” *Tandya Maha-brahmana*, p.55.

Here is Vedic teaching in which we find one of the great truth of Christianity as to the efficacy of sacrifice towards the annulling of sin taught with great force and clearness. Would that the character and nature of Him who is Himself the *priest* and *the victim* were equally clearly known and forcibly taught. In the Satapatha Brahmana, as we shall see below, we are told of Prajapati, the Lord of creation, that:—“One half of him was mortal and the other half immortal, and with that which was mortal he was afraid of death.”

Tanunaptra

This ceremony is performed after *atithyesti*. It is the solemn oath taken by the priests not to injure one another or the sacrificer, whose interests may be endangered by the priests. The origin of the rite seems to be in the possibility of harm that can be caused to the sacrificer or to the priests from the priests themselves. There may be some instances of the treachery of the priests to the sacrificer or to their colleagues in the sacrifice. The priests may have wielded their power to harm the sacrificer or the priests. To guard against this unpleasant and unwarranted situation, this rite to bind the priests together in a solemn oath must have come into existence. It shows the great mystic power of the sacrifice, which the priests can generate and use for doing harm to the sacrificer himself or to one of them. This also shows how strange the human nature is. It is in the sense of fear of the improper and indiscriminate use of the spiritual power generated by the performance of the sacrifice that this rite got currency. The AB (1.24) narrates a myth about its origin: The gods were afraid of the great power of the Asuras. They thought, "Through our disagreement they become great". They counselled together. These gods were : Agni with Vasus, Indra with Rudras, Varuna with Adityas and Brhaspati with Visvedevas. Having discussed mutually they agreed to deposit their dearest bodies in the house of Varuna and formed a convention that those who should violate this practice and those who would cause trouble would not be united with their bodies. Thus they could sever their bodies from themselves and hang them up elsewhere. They deposited them in the house of Varuna. That became their bodily covenant. That is why the bodily covenant is called *Tanunaptra*. Therefore also the people saw that one should not show treachery to one who is united by the bodily covenant. The Asuras had no such mutual protective arrangement. Therefore, they could not succeed. *Tanunaptra* is a solemn agreement to work for the well being of the sacrificer. It speaks of the tremendous

mysterious power of the sacrifice and its indiscriminate use by the priests.

Textiles

The following references from the *Rgveda* are self-expressive:-

“(The night) has again extended her (darkness cloth), as does a female weaver (the cloth) spread up on the loom” (RV. II.38.4).

“The two (Night and Dawn), weaving together the expanded threads (of the sacrifice), and jovial like the female weaver” (RV.II.3.6 *vayya-iva*).

In the latter reference the female weaver is indicated by the word *vayya*. Elsewhere there is reference to weaving in the frame of the loom (VII.33.9 *paridhim vayantah*). Cotton is not mentioned: and clothes were woven from sheep-wool cloth. About Pusan it is said that he “being a weaver from the wool of sheep, cleanses the garments” (RV.X.26.6). Wool was amply used, and region of the Sarasvati was famous for the same; the river was called urnavati was famous for the same; the river was called Urnavati (X.75.8 *Urnavati yuvatih*); and even the sheep was ones). It seems that the whole region of the Punjab was known for its wool and the woolly sheep; for, even the Parushii is said to be *urna* (IV.22.2 “For shelter (Indra) resorted to the Parusni, the *urna*”). But, the best wool came from the Gandharis (I.126.7, where the wife of the king Bhavavya says, in a symbolic conversation, “I am all hairy (indicating full youth) like the sheep of the Gandharis”). The wool-industry was well developed; and soft wool was produced (cf. the comparison at V.5.4 “Spread on O sacrificial Grass soft like the wool”). Also may be noted, “With the device from lead do the artizans, and with the mind to the poets weaves; so with the threads of wool” (*Vaj. Sam.* XIX.80 = *Maitt. Sam.* III.11.9).

It would, thus, be seen that wool was spun and transformed into yarn, washed, and was woven into cloth. There is no mention of the bark-garment; but *valka* is mentioned in the context of preparing or contracting curds (*Taitt. Sam.* II.5.3.5 "If it is contracted with the *putika* herb or the *valka* of leaves, it (the curds) becomes mild"). *Vastra* is a general term. It is mentioned at various places (RV III.39.2 "(the hymn, conceived as the daughter) wearing auspicious *vastra*;" f. IX.972. "wearing the *vastras* for special assemblies" X.1.6; "fine *vastras*, that are embroidered", *vastrany 'adha peanani*). *Vastras* were coloured; and this seems to have been generally done by women, as the *Vajasaneyi Sam.* (XXX.12) mentions the *rajayitri* in the context of the symbolic sacrifice. There were generally three garments: *nivi* (the under-garment), the *atka* (the fitting war, cf. VI.29.3 *su-rabhim*), and the *adhivasas*, which was the upper garment like a general covering, (RV X.5.4 heaving and earth wearing the *adhivasas*; 1.140.9 "(Agni) licking the *adhivasas* of his mother, the kindling stick). Cloth made of kosa-silk is mentioned (*Sat Br.* V.2.1.8 "the Nestor priest, ushering the sacrificer's wife, causes her to wear the *kausa vasas*").

Other type of silk-cloth were the *tarpya* and the *ksauma*. They are not mentioned in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* but come later (*tarpya*, *Sat. Br.* V.3.20.3; *ksauma*, *Mait. Sam.* III.6.7 and later). Sometimes, in the place of the *nivi*, or with the *nivi*, a petticoat was also used, especially in the rite (*Sat. Br.* V.2.1.8, where it is indicated to be made of *kosa-silk*, *kausam va candatakam antaram*). Yet other garments were the *drapi* mentioned at many places in the *Rgveda* but not later, and the *samulya* (*drapi*, a general tough covering like the armour, I.25.13 "Wearing the golden *drapi*" etc, and *samulya*, X.85.29 "cast of the *samulya*", in an address to the bride; it appears to be a garment to be used for the night, the *Jaiminiya Upanisad Br.* I.38.8, has it is *samula*).

We may close with an interesting reference. The sun-horse, *Dadhikravan*, is being dreaded by the enemies like a thief that

robs the people of their *vastra* (RV IV.38.5 *vastra-mathim na tayum*). The special mention of the *vastra*, a general term for garments of all sorts, would indicate the general paucity of this material; and only the well-to-do would be able to afford it. The general masses wore *vastra* that was necessary to cover only the lower part of the body, which was called *amedhya* (Sat. Br. V.2.1.8 *amedhyam yad arvacinam nabheh*); and women, in general covered other parts necessarily to be covered. This, however, appears to be the case in the Rgvedic times.

For wasing clothes some sort of biting substance (*palpulana*) was used; it was put in water, in which clothes were dipped: "His (i.e. of the *diksita*) garments should not be cleansed by the *palpulana*" (Taitt. Sam. II.5.5.6). At AV (XII.4.9) cow-dung is said to be *palpulana*; '*papulanam sakrt*'.

Tmesis

Tmesis, or separation of the preverb from the verb, in Vedic prose texts can be seen as a special case of this more general movement process. That is, tmesis is normally triggered in Vedic prose by fronting of the preverb to sentence-initial position (thus *sam* in (1) *ati* in (2)).

- (1) TS 1.5.9.5 *sam hi naktam vratani srjyante*
 'for vows are mingled by night'.
 (2) TS 6.6.9.2 *ati papmanam bhranam bhratrvyam*
 mucyate
 'he is freed from his evil foe'.

One must also count as 'fronted' preverbs which immediately follow so-called 'null-position' elements (which do not count for purposes of Wackernagel's Law) such as *atho* (thus *pra* in (3) must be counted as occupying the same structural position as the preverbs in (1) and (2) above—see Hale 1987.).

- (3) TS 7.2.1.3 *atho pra eva tena jayante*
 'thus truly they are propagated by this'

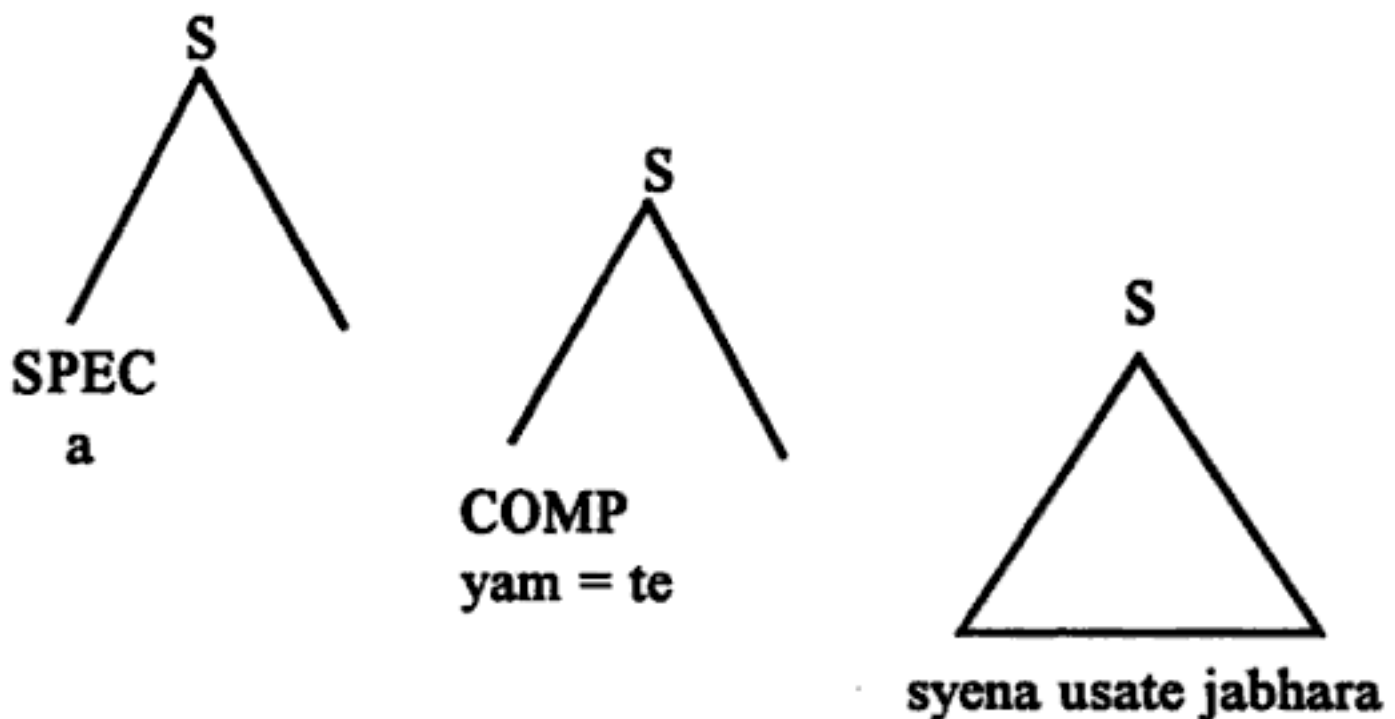
Tmesis normally occurs in the absence of such fronting only if a clitic conjoins (or disjoins) a preverb+verb pair with another predicate. The phrase-level version of Wackernagel's Law forces the conjoining clitic to stand between the preverb and verb.

- (4) TS 2.6.8.4 *yad upa ca strniyad abhi ca gharayet*
 'if he were to make a layer and sprinkle it'

That preverbs in examples such as (1)-(3) above have actually been moved into a sentence-initial position can be proven for the oldest Vedic Sanskrit we have, the language of the Rigveda. At this stage of Vedic, constituents could be front to the left of WH-moved interrogative and relative markers, as demonstrated in Hale (1987). Since, in example (5), the relative pronoun can be shown to have been moved into a presentential position (usually referred to as COMP, for 'complementizer'), it follows that *a* must have been moved to an even higher presentential node (referred to as SPEC, indicating the 'specifier' of the rest of the sentence).

- (5) RV 3.43.7b *a yam te syena usate jabhara*
 'which the eagle brought hither to desirous you'

We may graphically represent this structure as follows, where SPEC indicates the position into which the preverb has been fronted, COMP the position occupied by the relative pronoun, and S simply the rest of the sentence):



This paper will attempt to show that starting from precisely such a system, the distribution of preverbs in tmesis in Avestan can be seen to follow from a very constrained set of well-motivated innovations.

Transportation

The Vedic Aryans were primarily a pastoro-agriculturist people. Best in course of time arter gave place to sale and purchase. As movement from place to place developed various means of transport were developed. The chariot and the cart are mentioned at various places as means of transportation:

“O singer, you have indeed, come from far in the chariot and the cart” RV III.33.9 *anasa rathena*).

Apart from the sans and the ratha (chariot), there was another vehicle the *vipaha*, a rough vehicle for bad paths: “Of the Vratya the mind was the *vipatha*, Matarisvan and Pavamana (Soma) were the draggers.” (AV.XV.2.6.).

Water transport including the transport by sea is indicated: “Varuna knows the boats in the sea” (RV.I.25.7), “the chariots get ready at the advent of the goddess Dawn, as do wealth-seekers about the sea” (Ibid I. 48.3); “The singers flock round Indra, as do the wealth seakers about the sea” (I.56.2 *samudram na saacarane sanisyarch*). Ships with many oars were used for transport: “Asvins. You made me boat (*plava*) for Bhujyu, the son of Tugrya, which was endowed with ‘life (*atmanvantam* and has wings” (I.182.5 *pleacn etmannantiam paksinam*). The word *atmanvantam* is of special interest; for it indicates the boat to have self-motion, or if *atman* indicates wind’, as at other places, it may indicates, the “sails” here. In addition to these references, the mention of *krsana* (pearls), noted earlier, would indicate long expeditions on the part of the Aryan traders themselves, or by other traders, in either case suggesting god maritime activity.

Tribes

The word *jana* occurs many times in the *Rgveda*, and another word indicative of tribes in *panca-janah*, “five tribes”. Sometimes we have the variats as *panca-krstayah* and *panca-carsanth*, both suggesting the tilling masses (/krs, “to till”). The later texts also use this expression (for example, *Aitareya Br.* III.31.4 “Aditi is *panca-janah*, that is in her all the gods; in her are the *panca janah*: *Taitt. Sam.* I.6.1.1 *pancanam tva panca-jananam*; *Kathaka Sam.* V.6; XXXII.6; *Brhadaranyaka Up.* IV.2.9), which shows that the expression had become conventional for all masses. But who actually these were is dark. It is clear that in the *Rgveda* the term had a definite connotation of human tribes, though later, even at the time of the Brahmana texts, fictitious explanations came forward. The *ai. Br.* (III.31) has “this praise is for all the *panca-janas*, for the Devas, the Manusyas, Gandharvas-Apsarases, Sarpas and the Manes.” Wherein the Gandharvas and the Apsarases are taken as one category. This does not help in any way, though it has to be noted that in the other Vedic texts the Sarpas are mentioned as a tribe, like the Birds, in connection with the ten-day sacrifice (*Sat. Br.* XIII.4.3.12). Aupamanyava, a senior contemporary of or even earlier teacher than Yaska (*Nirukta* III.8), states that they included the four *varnas* and the *Nisadas*. This cannot, however, be accepted; for the expression *panca-janah*, or the others noted above, are quite frequent in the *Rgveda*, but the reference to the four *varnas* comes only late; moreover the *Nisadas* are not known to the *Rgveda* or the *Atharvaveda*.

The *Rgveda* indicates that the five tribes were Aryans, as Agni is closely associated with them asking them to abide by his sacrificial order (RV. X.53.4 “You Five tribes; accept my *hotra*; also v.5 “May the Five tribes accept my *hotra*; Again, Indra is said to belong to the Five tribes (RV.V.32.11 “I hear you (O Indra) as the only good lord belonging to the Five tribes”). The *Satapatha Br.* mentions the Five people that

could not achieve the glory of Bharata (*Sat Br.* XIII.5.4.14 "The greatness of Bharata could not be achieved by people anterior nor by those who were posterior, like the heaven by the mortal; nor even the Five tribes did achieve it"). In the same context we have the mention of the Seven tribes which suggests the inclusion of the Kurus and Pancalas. This would suggest that in the earlier texts, the term. *Panca Janah* indicated the Aryan tribes themselves; and they were Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, Turvas and Puru, all mentioned in the *Rgveda*, though never in association with term *panca janah*. The latter term seem to have become quite familiar; and it was not felt necessary to use it when the five or any of them, were actually mentioned. As a next stage, the term indicated. the totality of all men. The passage from the *Satapatha Br.*, noted above suggests a difference between the Bharatas on the one hand, and the Five, or seven, tribes on the other. Probably, this is on the background of the 'War-of-Ten-kings', in which these were arrayed against Sudas Bharata (*RV.* VII.18.33.83); and when the reference is to Seven tribes, it is not improbable that the Bhrgus and the Matsyas are included, which come in the same context:

"For Sudas did Indra make the expanding floods of the (Parusni) fordable" (v.5).

"Turvasa, trying to sacrifice as it were (in the battle), himself became the *purodasa* (the sacrificial cake); the Matsyas, like the fish, were dotted (and hunted) as it were in the waters; the Bhrgus and the Anus, followed them in their lot" (v.6).

"The *vajrabahu* (*indra*) smote Druhyu" (v.12).

"The wealth of the son of Anu (*Anavasya*) he (*Indra*) gave to the *Trtsu* (*Bharata*); may we, in the battle, win Puru, of vile speech (*mrdhravacan*)" (V.13).

The above references do not have Yadu clearly mentioned; but, at various places in the *Rgveda* Yadu and Turvasa are mentioned together (cf. I.174.9 *turvasam yadum*; IV.30.17

turvasayadu) and even in the present context there is a veiled reference to him, according to some scholars (*Vedic Index*). It may appear rather strange that the Bharatas are not included in the *panca janah*. Hence, it has been also proposed that the Turvasa and the Yasdus formed only tribe; and with the inclusion of the Bharatas the tribes are to be taken as five. With the Matsyas and the Bhrgus the total will be seven. The Druhyus, Turvasas and the Anus lived between the Asikni and the Parusni; and were defeated by Sudas on the Parusni; and were defeated by Sudas on the Parusni. The Matsyas, the Druhyus and the Anus were drowned in the waters of the Parusni, while trying to take to their heels.

Trtsus

The Trtsus are closely mentioned with the Bharatas; but, whether they were their priests, the Vasisthas, or Bharatas themselves is an open question. The mention of our Trtsu (v. 13 from the passages quoted above, gave rise to the opinion (Geldner) that he was Sudas Bharata himself; and hence, the Trtsus were the Bharatas themselves. But, on the basis of the similarity of the hair-style of the Vasisthas and the Trtsus, it is proposed that the Trtsus are Vasisthas (Oldenberg). Both are described as having braided hair (at one place on the right side of the head *daksinatakapardah*; VII.33.1 for the Vasisthas, and at VII.83.8, where the word *kaprdinah*, occurs, for the Trtsus). But the expression "the tribe of Trtsus" (*trtsunamrisah* at RV.VII.33.6) would illsuit the Vasisthas; for it is not generally applied to the priests.

Tv astr

Views of scholars both ancient and modern are at variance regarding the identity of *Tv astr*, a deity who is without any hymn but whose name occurs sixty-five times in the *Rgveda*.

The methods of identification as accepted by scholars reveal that some depend on the derivative meaning of the term *Tv astr*

and some on the other hand lay more stress on the attribute and activity of the god.

The *Tvastr* has been identified as the Fire, the Sun, the moon, the personification of the stern and frowning sky on the one hand and as the creator god, the Divine artificer, and the All-fashioner *Viśvakarman*, etc. on the other.

Besides these there is another view which considers the term *Tvastr* as an epithet of more concrete but now obscure a deity which in the long run came to be known as a separate god.

Indeed the controversial opinions make the identity of *Tvastr* doubtful. But it is true that the varied assumptions reflect the double aspect of fervour and lustre prevalent in *Tvastr*'s nature.

Now let us examine the Rgvedic evidences in determining the identity of *Tvastr*.

The question of the origin of the universe was the most dominant and urgent in the mind of the Vedic seers, and as a result we find in the *Rgveda* creator gods like—*Prajapati*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Savitṛ*, *Dhatṛ*, *Tvastr* and *Viśvakarman*, etc. But the query reaches its highest mark in the *Nasadiya* hymn (RV 10.129) of the *Rgveda*, where *Tapas*, the fervour has been speculated as the starting point of creation. There it has also been said that through the *maha* (*mahina*) of *Tapas* the One, the Absolute was born (*Tapasastan mahina Jayatikam* RV 10.129.3) which in course of advancement resulted in the formation of the universe. However, it becomes clear that *tapas* embedded with *maha* was the original cause of creation

Now coming to *tvastṛ* we see him as *rupakṛi*, the form-maker par excellence. The Rk "*Tvasta rupani pinsati* (RV 10.184.1) may be referred here in which the term '*pinsati*' is derived from the root *pis* 'to give shape to' - *avayavakarane*. We have seen either that the state of *tapas* gives shape to the

One, the Absolute, the first form out of the formless, and so as a shape-giver *Tvastr* may be considered as the presiding deity of *Tapas*.

Truly this primary position of *Tvastr* is unique in the creation of both immortals and mortals. We know *Tvastr* as the father of Heaven and Earth (RV 10.2.7), the universal parents wherefrom originate the other gods. He is also the father of *Saranyu* who being coupled with *Vivasvan* gave birth to the first human parents (RV 10.7.1). Moreover he is described as the presiding deity of generation (RV 10.2.2), the divine spirit which is the strength of *Indra* (RV 1.117.22), the divine which is the strength of *Indra* (RV 9.47.3) or of all-gods (RV 10.85.2). Thus so far as the creation theory reveals *Tvastr* standing at the dawn of creation, may befittingly be looked upon as *tapas* incarnate. Another point is that *Tvastr* is the god of Lustre (*maha*) also, which is the second aspect in *Tvastr*'s nature.

Tvastr holds an iron axe in his hand (RV 8.29.3) which marks him out as an artificer. He fashioned the bolt of *Indra* (RV 5.31.4) and the axe of *Brahmanaspati* (RV 10.53.9). He made a beautiful cup out of which gods drink *Soma* (RV 1.20.6). Now let us consider the term *Tvastr*, which will reveal that he is a fashioner of lustrous things. The term is derived from the root *tvīś* 'to shine', or *tvaks* 'to sharpen'. If we join together both the meanings of the roots we may at once arrive to consider *Tvastr* as the fashioner of the evershining object and that is why he is called as the fashioner of *Indra*'s bolt, which is ever-lustrous. Similar is the argument with the other objects fashioned by *Tvastr*. We may recall here the existence of *maha*, the lustre at the dawn of creation. But why such a god of great honour does not appear prominently in the Vedic pantheon, or one may ask, why don't we find hymn devoted to his honour in the entire *Rgveda*?

It may be argued that *Tvastr* having close resemblance of one of his aspects gradually dissolved in *Agni*, a prominent deity in the *Rgveda* and reappeared as *Visvakarman* with

the other aspect of his character. Let us study the argument accordingly. *Sakapuni* an ancient etymologist adhered to the view that *Tvastr* is *Agni*. He also considered the *Apri* gods as *Agni* and *Tvastr* is one of the *Apri*-gods. *Agni* is known with its special epithet '*tapasvan*' (RV 6.5.4) the fervour incarnate, and sometimes addressed as *Tvastr* (RV 2.1.5). *Agni* blesses a sacrificer with child in the form of *Tvastr* (RV 4.11.4; 5.5.9). *Agni* and the son of *Tvastr* both are called *Visvarupa* and are three-headed. *Tvastr* himself is also *Visvarupa*. *Agni* is known as a giver of forms (RV 1.188.9) and also appears in the creation (RV 1.149.2). He bears an axe and sharpens the same like *Tvastr*.

Finally *Agni* being the third of the *bhutas* or elements in the fashioner of forms (*rupa*) while the first two elements viz. *Vayu* and *Akasa* are formless (*arupa*). As such the name *Tvastr* fits no other deity so well and we can, rightly conclude that *Tvastr* gradually came to be featured as *Agni*. But as it has not been possible for *Agni* to represent the double aspect of *Tvasti* and in this respect, most probably the god *Visvakarman* loomed up on the horizon as an artificer-god.

Visvakarman, the all-maker, which the very name suggests, figures in two hymns of the *Rgveda* (RV 10.81; 10.82). We may note the following about his character.

He is a creator god, sometimes addressed as *Dhata*, *Vidhata*, etc. He is an artificer, who fashioned the sky and the Earth (*yato dyavaprthivi nistataksuh*, RV 10.81.4). He has been praised for his lustre (RV 10.81.5). He is known as *sadhukarma*, well-doer, knows the lustre of this universe (RV 10.82.3). Relating to *Visvakarman* the seer indulges in his speculation about the origin of the Universe, and it is said that it is *maha* of that god that unveiled the two worlds—*Vidyam aurnon mahina visvacaksah* (RV 10.81.2). These may be considered as reflection of *Tvastr*'s nature in *Visvakarman*, and the terms like *nistataksuh*, *mahina*, etc. provide adequate ground for such assumption. One may thus conclude that

Tvastr with its fashioning capacity reappeared as *Visvakarman*, the god of architectonic skill in later period. *Tvastr* thus did not appear prominently in the *Rgveda* and being eclipsed by these two deities was relegated to his own subordinate position.

Vajra

The *Vajra* in the Rgveda is no thunderbolt! The Rgveda has a different word : *vidyut*, for the lightning-stroke, which alone (not *Vajra*) is associated with Parjanya, the *proper and only rain-god of the Rgveda*. The epithets and other descriptions of the *vidyut* are not shared by the *vajra* and they are not associated (much less identified) with each other, in the Rgveda. Whereas Indra is called *vajra-hasta* in a number of passages, he is never described as *vidyuddhasta* in the Rgveda. The passage that raised serious doubts in the mind of the writer about the correctness of the prevalent view is RV. X.27.21 which describes the *vajra* in turning about in diverse directions, now and again, *right under the lofty light-vapour of Surya!* Such continued co-existence of the sun and the thunderbolt which requires dark clouds as its background is impossible! An examination of all *vajra* passages in the Rgveda has led the writer to the following conclusions :

The *vajra* is a weapons and a 'weapon' in no abstract or figurative sense of the term. It is a *vadha*—a deadly weapon (I.32.5;55.5), of the nature of a *ghana* i.e., a club, mallet or hammer (I.8.3). It is made of *ayas*—a metal, either from or a kind of bronze (I.52.8;80.12;81.4; VIII.96.3;X.48.3 ;96.3)

113.5). It is a weapon that is *wrought, forged* or *fashioned* by Tvastṛ, the artificer-god (I.32.2; 52.7; 61.6; V.31.4; X.483). The process of this fashioning is betrayed when Tvastṛ is described as having *turned* it (as on a lathe) (I.85.9; VI.17.10). It is often said to have been ground, whetted, sharpened or polished (I. 55.1; 57.2; 130.4; VIII.15.7; 76.9; X.153.4). The quality of this product is indicated when it is said to have been Sukṛian well-fashioned", to be as sharp as a razor (I.130.4) and to have been made of all available material in existence (II. 17.6). It has a jagged or notched surface and has a hundred or thousand joints, edges or teeth (I.80.6; VIII.6.6; 76.2; 89.3; I.80.12; VI.17.10).

If the *vajra* were the evanescent flashing and crashing thunderbolt, it could not have been described as the ancient and *constant* companion, ally or associate of Indra (I.33.10; 131.10; VI.21.7) or as one of the three or four *stable* times of the *habitual* equipment of Indra, such as his Chariot or horses (II.16.6; X.44.2); nor could the holding of the *vajra* have been enumerated among the *abiding* characteristics or traits of Indra, such as 'the drinking of the Soma' and "the giving away of cows" (VI.23.4).

The following exact and minute specifications of the position and size of the *vajra* on the person of Indra and his *manner* of holding it, would be ludicrous, if taken as pertaining to the thunderbolt:—(a) The *vajra* is held in the *two bahus* (arms) of Indra (I.51.7; 52.8; 63.2; II.11; 6; 20.8; III.44.4; IV.22.3; VI.23.1; VIII.61.18 etc.) or in the two *fit for the two arms of Indra* that hold it (II.17.6a). It is sometimes described as held in *one* hand (VI.20.9; VII.28.2 etc.), in all probability, the *right* hand, as explicitly mentioned in VI. 18.9; 22.9 (b) The *vajra* is held firmly or tightly by Indra, i.e. held in such as way as to be in *close contact* with his arms or hands (I.130.4; X.44.2; VIII.61.18). (c) The metallic *vajra faithfully clings* to his person (VIII.96.3). (d) It is held in his firmly interlocked hands (I.81.4).

The most convincing evidence is furnished by two passages:—IV.20.6 and VIII.6.14 which describe the *vajra* as *sthavira* (stable) and as *dharnasi* (durable) respectively! It is impossible to apply these epithets to the thunderbolt!

Thus the detailed specifications of the *vajra* given in the Rgveda namely—(i) its type as a weapon (a club or hammer), (ii) the material out of which it is forged, (iii) the process of fashioning it by *turning* and *sharpening* it (as on a lathe), (iv) its production by a specialist, the artificer-god Tvastri, (v) its permanent (companion like) association with Indra, (vi) its character as a stable item of the *habitual* equipment of Indra, (vii) its size, (viii) its form and judged surface, (ix) and the firm holding of it in his arms by Indra—all these specifications would lose their propriety and significance, if *taken to refer to the impermanent thunderbolt!*

The misconception that the *vajra* is a thunderbolt is easily understandable as due to the wrong notion that Indra is a *storm-god* in the Rgveda. The latter error is, in its turn, due to a mis-apprehension of the nature of the *Waters won back or set free by Indra as "rain-waters"*! These waters are, in reality, the *cosmic* waters of the celestial sea which *can move upward*, have the days floating on their surface and *move in the closest proximity to the sun*, when set free. *Their release is simultaneous with that of the sun and the Dawn* and they are vapours, non-distinguishable from the light-vapours (*purisa*), the blocking of which by Vṛta (the demon of darkness, *not of drought*) resulted in the suspension of the movements of the luminaries. Other gods like Brhaspati, the Iranian Mithra and the Greek Zeus also wield the *vajra* and they are not thunderstorm-deities. The *vajra* then, is a *non-transient*, metallic weapon of Indra, the god of light, in the Rgveda. Indra is a god of light in the Rgveda because there are passages (like X, 89.2) that identify Indra with the sun and passages (like III.49.4) that assign to Indra, the well-known functions, characteristics and attribute of Surya, such

as the dissipation of darkness and the possession of splendour; because the Rgveda describes Indra as winning or discovering, Surya and directing his movements (II.49.4 etc.) associates Indra with (or assimilates him to) the Sun (X.49.7); connects him with the keys, luminaries. Dawns and light etc. as their Creator (III.34.3); identifies Indra with other deities of light (VI.59.2) and finally applies to Indra and all that belongs to him epithets like *hari harita* and *hiranya*, which can only mean 'tawny' 'glowing' or 'shining like gold'.

Finally, when RV I.51.4 speaks of the unlocking of the waters and the killing of Vrtra by Indra as *simultaneous with the mounting of the Sun in the sky* by him and when I.52.8 adds to verse three simultaneous operations, the holding of the metallic *Vajra* in his two hands, by Indra, we are forced to the conclusion that Indra is a god, not of the thunderstorm but of light, that Vrtra is a demon not of drought but of darkness, that the waters whose release is simultaneous with the appearance of the sun are *not* rain-waters but celestial cosmic water and (finally) that the *Vajra* is no thunderbolt but a *stable, metallic weapon firmly held in his hands* by Indra, the god of light.

Valmikavapa

The terms *valmika* and *valmikavapa* occur relatively frequently in the Vedic literature. The meaning of *valmika* is clear enough. It is used to denote a termite mound. But the meaning of the later term, occasionally used interchangeably with the former, is not so clear. In elucidating this term we shall restrict ourselves here to the use of these terms in the Vedic rituals, principally the *srauta* rituals, while in general excluding modern and popular religious practices. While we shall discuss the etiology of the use of the *valmikavapa* (and *valmika*) in the ritual, we cannot, except in the course of drawing conclusions, deal with the archaic cosmogony that surely contributed to the introduction of this object into the

classical Vedic sacrificial ritual.

The Vedic sacrifice, like ritual every where, assigns symbolic significance to concrete objects. Because the *valmikavapa* (or *valmika*) is concrete object, naturally the question of its significance, if any, arises. The ritualistic effort to transcend the limitations of ordinary, everyday meanings of things and words is responsible for their hidden, elliptical, or even contray assignations. The purpose of drawing together conceptually different entities and notions into a “code of connections” (Heesterman 1957:6), as the Vedic thinkers have done, is to bring these “higher” significances into the grasp of the ritualist. A termite mound is just a termite mound for an ordinary person. But for a ritualist it may have greater significance. This significance must be discovered if it has not already been stated explicitly in the available literature. If there is such a significance, it must be manifest in the relations of the thing or object. These relations might be juxtapositions to other things: contacts and associations of various types which are at least implicit in speech and actions within the rites.

Three questions will be raised here : (1) What is the object called *valmikavapa*? (3) What is its significance?

The first question presents immediate problems because the term *vapa* is best known as the omentum, a fatty membrane which covers the intestines and part of the viscera of a male goat and is offered in the animal sacrifice as the *vapayaga*. In order to account for the two usages, we must have either two homonymous words (possibly derived from two different roots) or a single word with (at least) two meanings. The usual translations or (*valmika*-) *vapa*, “soil”, “earth”, fail to explain its meaning and significance. This is not entirely the fault of the modern translators; they merely follow their predecessors, the Sanskrit commentators. For a practising ritualist, at least in medieval and modern times, the *valmikavapad* (*vv*) is indeed the covering or “soil” of the termite-mound, no doubt serving as the basis of the

commentarial tradition that paved the way for the modern translators. We shall examine the extent to which the choice of material constituting the *vv* was based on notions pertaining to the *vapa* of the goat and to what extent it was independently considered. In other words, what was the original material?

The second and third questions, concerning the associations and ritualistic significance or symbolic value of the *valmikavapa*, are in no small measure dependent upon establishing the material identity of the *valmikavapa*.

Etmology: Both elements of the compound *valmika-vapa* are of philological interest. While the first element may be of considerable etymological interest, the second raises the controversial issues which concern us here. Concerning the word *valmika*, we refer to the major study of König on the cultural and religious significance of the termite mound in ancient India.

The primary nominal derivative *vapa*, formed from *√vap*, has two synchronically distinct meanings: the “omentum” of a goat (*aja-chaga-vapa*) and the *vapa* (to be identified below) of a termite mound (*valmika-vapa*). Similarly, two distinct roots, *√vap* are found, meaning “shave, cut.” and “strew, scatter, sow”. Mayrhofer relates the first *vapa* with *vapati*. “shears, shaves, cuts grass”. This is linked to words for “integument,” - skin’. However, he notes that according to Kolver (1972) *vapa*, “omentum,” is related to *vapati* in the sense of “strews, scatters, throws, sows”. It is from this meanings of *√vap* that the common *nirvapati*, *nirvapana*, *nirvaapa*, etc. in the sense of bringing, pouring and otherwise preparing oblations is denied in the YV Samhitas onwards. Wackernagel-Debrunner hesitatingly attribute both meanings of *vapa* to *vap*, “strew”, a view also held by Monier-Williams.

Thus the questions arise: Are both *vapa*’s ultimately the same word with connected meanings, or are they homonymns? That is, do they belong to the same root or to different root? OR,

as (Wackernagel-)Debrunner seem to suggest, could they be two homonymous-a derivatives from two aspects of the same root, namely *√vap*, “strew”? If they are homonyms, then their different semantic sources wer obscured at a fairly early date, at which time their meanings became associated because of their identity of form.

It is clear from the evidence given herein that *vapa* of the termite mound should be derived from *√vap*, “strew.” The secondary sense. “to procreate, beget” from “to strew, scatter (seed)”, is implicit in this usage. Yet it remains uncertain whether this was homonymous with *vapa* of the goat or derived from the same root. Probably they were homonymous, in which case the sense of “covering” (i.e., omentum) (derived from *vap*, “shave, cut”) was adopted by early interpreters, if not the original authors, of the compound *valmikavapa*. This suggests the *vapa*, “omentum”, was the original word, and that certain senses of it were appropriated when the need came to identify a part of a termite mound required in the Vedic ritual. In this scenario, an identical—a derivative from *vap*, “shave, cut”. This, is course, cannot be proved. It is only certain that the imagery of the two became mixed, rendering difficult a positive identification of the *valmika vapa*.

Varna, Gora and Social Mobility

The *Rgveda* mentions four varnas, but quite late (X.90.12 “Brahmana was his mouth, the two arms were formed by the ksatriya, his things were the Vaisya, from his feet was born the Sudra”) in the description of the cosmic (and social) Purusa. In the early *Rgveda*, however, three *varnas* and commonly mentioned (VIII.35.16 “O Asvins! impel the Brahman and impel the intellect;” and v. 17 “Impel the ksatra and the men,” and v. 18 “Impel the cows and also impel the *Visah*”). Who the Sudras, originally, were cannot be said with any certainly. There is no evidence to the effect that they wer conquered enemy tribes; also there is no clear proof that

the so-called Dasyus or the Dasas got the appellation Sudra by which they could be identified. They were an amalgamation of the aboriginal tribes, the nonconformists among the Vedic tribes such as the Vratyas and so on. They formed an integral part of the Aryan society as early as the *Rgveda* itself. Though the Sudra was not allowed in certain ritual activities, he was not treated badly: "May not the Sudra milk (the cow for the sacrificial milk; he is born of non-truth" (*Sat. Br.* III.1.1.10); but, "Agni! Bestow glory upon the Brahmana, glory upon the Ksatriya, glory upon the Vis (Vaisyas) and glory upon the Sudras" (*Taitt. Sam.* V.7.6.4 = *Mait. Sam.* III.4.8). Sinning against the Sudra was as bad as against a Brahmana: "What sin do commit in the village, in the forest, in the assembly, or in our own senses, what to the Sudra, what to the Arya, may it be expiated; hail!" (*Taitt. Sam.* I.4.8; cf. *Sat. Br.* V.5.4.9).

This indicates that the Sudra was admitted in the Aryans fold, the difference being that he was unsophisticated. Intermagriages led to the creation of many castes; yet there was no strict rigidity about the change of caste. Thus Kavasa Ailusa was the son of a slave woman; but he became a Brahmana, by virtue of his *mantra*-power: "The child of a slave woman, no-Brahmana, a cheat; how has he been consecrated amongst us?"; and further, the seers said, "the gods know him; let us summon him; they summoned him." (*Aitareya Br.* II.19). Here is another example: "Vatsa and Medhatithi were both sons of Kanva. Medhatithi reproached this Vatsa, "Thou art a non-Brahmana;—the son of a Sudra (woman)! He answered, 'Let us walk, according to the rite through the fire to decide who of us two is the better Brahmana. 'With the *Vatsa saman* (i.e. by the mode of singing the *mantra* invented by himself, which later became famous by his name) did Vatsa walk through the fire. With the *Medhatithi saman* did Medhatithi. Both were unhurt" (*Panca-vimsa Br.* XIV.6.6). This would indicate that caste did not depend on the birth. The famous example of Visvamitra, the Gandhi prince, who achieved Brahmanahood, is already there.

Marriage was governed by the principle of exogamy, where the *gotra* played an important part. The word *gotra* is the gift of the pastoral stage, and indicates the common cow-stall, or a common pasture. Thus, people whose cows, or cattle, stayed and grazed in a common spot, had the same *gotra*, irrespective of their individual vocations. This will show that the *gotra* was the next stage to the family in the early social set up. There are plenty of references in the *Rgveda* to the destroying of the *gotras* of the enemies by Indra (e.g. I.53.3 “You have opened the *gotra* for the Agnirases”), who is very aptly called *gotra-bhid*; but he also gives the *gotra* (VIII.50.10 “You have given me a *gotra*”; cf. VIII.63.5 “for giving a *gotra*,” *gotrasya davane*). *Gotra-bhid* just does not only mean the “smasher of the cow-stall”; it means, hence, the “smasher of the smallest pastoral unit” of the enemy; and as a result it implies the usurping of the cows. The giving of the *gotra* indicates the shelter in a social pastoral unit. This next step was the *grama*, a collection of many *gotras*.

But there is another small unit, the *vraja*; and there is the *kula*. The *Rgveda* notes both; and indicates their inter-relationship: “O Indra! Around you; sit the friends, with their presents, as do the *kula-pas* about the *vrajapati*” (X.179.2). This indicates that the *vraja* was a moving unit, a bit bigger than the *kula* (family); bigger than the *vraja* was the *gotra*, at a settled stage, more or less. In a *grama* there were many *gotras*, who could have marital relations among themselves. The *grama* had the *gramani*; and the word indicates that, in the early stages, the *grama* itself was a moving unit, which would be led (literally “carried”, *grama + √ni*) by the *gramani*. This exactly corresponds with the sense of *ni* in the word *senani* (RV VII.20.5; cf. *yajna-* i Ibid. X.107.6). The moving *grama* gave rise to the settled *grama* (the village) in course of time, which became the smallest unit of the kingdom of later times, when the *Rajan*, as the king, came on the scene. Here was the rise of the political set up.

Vatsyayana's Nyayabhasya

Vatsyayana, also known as Paksilasvamin, is the bhasya writer on the Nyayasutras of Gautama. He is supposed to have flourished in the fourth century A.D. In the opening section of his bhasya, he states that the Nyayasutras are the exposition of the science of anviksiki, which Kautilya acknowledges as one of the sciences provided for the good of the human beings. Vatsyayana quotes the very stanza of Kautilya to show that anviksiki is the lamp of all sciences, the means of knowledge of all things and the basis of all activities. Though anviksiki as a science is found condemned in the Dharmasastras, Vatsyayana cautiously asserts that the scope of his anviksiki is confined to jth categories deduced both by perception and agama. (Pratyaksagamabhyam iksitasya anviksanam). Vatsyayans obviously clarifies as it were that he is inclined to establish independently the metaphysical truths by logic which are not antagonistic to the established Vedic tents. His purposeful introduction of agama in the definition of *anviksiki* bears testimony of the above fact. The works on Nitisastra such as Kamandakinti and Sukranitisarah state that *anviksiki* is atmavidya. Nilaakantha, the commentator on the Mahabharata, states in the course of his commentary on the Rajyadharma section in the Santiparvan that Trayi means the Karma portion and *anviksiki* the Jnana portion of the Vedas. But Vatsyayana makes it quite obvious here that the scope of his system is directed towards the examination of categories like samsaya (doubt) to help the realisation of Atman. He specifically states 'Doubt and the rest form the subject dealt with by the science of anvisiki. Consequently if all the sciences are not distinctly enunciated it would appears that this science will appear to deal with the should only like the Upanisads'. So Vatsyayana employs logic to arrive at the metaphysical truths independently and finally seeks confirmation for these tents in the scriptures.

Virtues and Vices

The Vedic people seemed to have a simple code of morals. The performance of sacrifices was regarded as the principal virtue which was rewarded by the attainment of heaven. Vedic injunctions, which were imperative and external mandates, were also not categorical, but were mostly supplemented by eulogies (*arthavada*), which held out promise of reward. Along with this idea of ritual virtue, there also grew the concept of social virtues and vices, such as truth and falsehood, charity and absence of generosity, and so on. Virtues were eulogised, not for their own sake, as having any intrinsic valid of their own, but as means to the attainment of pleasure in this or other world.

Heroism and sacrifice of life in the battle-field have been highly praised. *Tapas* or strict mental and physical discipline has been described as irresistible. (RV.X.154). *Tapas* might mean the purposive endurance of certain physical sufferings as Sayana interprets it. It may also imply undergoing any mental or physical train for certain ends and is invincible as is described in many places in the Puranas too.

Truth has always been praised and falsehood condemned. The concept of truth might have been originally associated with the immutable relation of uttering the *mantras* (hymns) and their consequences. It has also been used to signify the actual correspondence of speech (*vac*) with facts. This *vac* meant the holy speech, meaning the sacrificial *mantras*, which was praised for its efficacy in bringing about desirable results. From this the ordinary sense of truth, namely, agreement of any speech with fact might have been derived. In later literature truth meant that which was without any change and decay and was eternal, (e.g. *satyam brahma*) and was an epithet to Brahman (the highest reality). It also means reality and its different grades, the *vyayaharika satya* (phenomenal reality,) and *paramarthika satya* (ultimate reality), were accepted. It thus changes its connotation as ages passed by and became a

very developed concept in the later philosophical literature.

Belief in the magical charms and efficacy of the mantras rose to its highest in the period of the Brahmanas. An event, however impossible it might otherwise appear, could be accomplished by the wonderful powers of *rksor samans* (the hymns of the *Rgveda* and the *Samveda*). Thus when Indra was pursued by the head of Namuchi which he had cut off, he was saved from its terrible attack by a special rite in accompaniment with a *saman*.

From the greatness attributed to *vac* or speech might have originated the importance of truthfulness. Lying has been described as "murder of speech", and it is narrated how a person, Kalyana who spoke lies, was punished with leprosy. (*Tandya Br.* XII.11.12). The very association of falsehood, rightly or wrongly, seemed to produce impurity. Thus it is said (*TS.* II.1.10.2) that an unholy voice (*aputa vac*) or calumny pursues one though he may be accused falsely, and one has to perform certain rites to become free from the impurity caused by it.

As a means of testing the validity of one's speech, ordeals were used. The *Tandya Br.* XIV.6.6. describes how Vatsa Kanva, as a proof of his statement about his good lineage, in reply to the reproach of his brother, walked through the fire and not a hair of his was burnt. We know also the fire-ordeal of Sita in the Ramayana.

Another story is told in the *Sat. Br.* X.2.3.6. as to how the gods became superior to the *asuras*. The gods and the *asuras* were both descendants of Prajapati and inherited truth and falsehood of speech, and so they were alike. Then the gods accepted truth and gave up falsehood; whereas the *asuras* gave up truth, and accepted falsehood. Then the truth that was in the *asuras* came to the gods and the falsehood that was in the gods went to the *asuras*. The Gods speak truth exclusively, and, though apparently weakened, they prospered

in the end, while the *asuras* speaking falsehood exclusively, became rich at first, but suffered in the end. The victory of truth in the long run is thus well illustrated. We can compare the story of Yudhisthra in the *Mahabharata*, who once told a lie and could not escape the punishment due to it, even though he had been speaking truth all his life. In later times truth was classified according to speech, bodily actions, and mind, and in Buddhism we find detailed discussion of these virtues which will be taken up in due course. In the *Bhasya* on the *Yogasutra* truth has been subordinated to non-injury. Thus for saving another's life one was entitled to speak untruth to enemies. (*Vyasabhasya* and *Tattvavisaradi* 2.30). It has been highly praised in the *Mahabharata* as the sustainer of the world, the origin of creation and as leading one to heaven.

Arrogance (*atimana*) has been deprecated with illustrations. (*Sat. Br.* V.1.1.1). The reference is to the story of Sibi, Vasumana and Pratardana, while they were riding the same chariot with Narada, as told in the *Mahabharata*. Being asked as to who could go to heaven if only one were to go, *Narada* answered that it was Sibi, while others were to come down for one or other of their faults, and arrogance was one of these.

The term *brahmacarya*, which generally means self-control, seems to have been used in different senses such as study of the Vedas (*brahma* meaning Veda), or the aspiration for the great (*brahma* implying the great) and so on. It is told in the *Taittiriya Br.* III.10.11.3 that the sage Bharadvaja was granted three lives by the favour of Indra, and he spent these by *brahmacarya* (the study of the Vedas in the teacher's residence). When he was on the point of decay at the end of the third life, Indra asked him again "I grant you; a fourth life, what will you do with it?" "Why", replied Bharadvaja, "I shall still do that which I have doing in all these lives. "*Brahmacarya* has been interpreted here by the commentator as the study of the Vedas; but it is quite in consonance with the derivative meaning, namely, aspiration and practices of

conduct for the highest as the Vedas were then regarded to be the highest ends. The virtue of *brahmacarya*, in all its meanings, has been highly praised, and wonderful powers are attributed to it. The *brahmacarin* advances lighted up by fuel; from him were produced to highest *Brahma* and all the gods. In him the gods are joyful. He has established the earth and the sky. (AV.XI.5.1). The gods, the fathers and the *gandharvas*, all follow him, he serves him teachers and gods with favour. He is also described as an integral of the gods (RV.X.109.5).

Brahmacarya, in the sense of an attempt or a course of conduct for attaining what one thinks to be great, seems to appear in AV.XI.5 which states by *brahmacarya* a woman approaches her husband as also an ox or a horse longs for the grass. It may thus mean the intense love of the heart by which as woman approaches her highest, the husband, as does as animal aspire for his food which is one of the keenest desire of his species and therefore, his greatest.

Wonderful achievements due to *kama* or desire have been described. It occurs also sometimes in the sense of sex-love as in AV.III.25 where it is described as capable of causing unrest and disquiet, by piercing the heart of its victims, by its arrows. It has also been described as the impulse of creations of the first creator.

Personification of abstract virtue is not rare in the *Rgveda*, and their real import may sometimes be lost sight of in the exuberance of glorious epithets. Thus *sraddha* or faith is praised in Rv. X.151. It permeates the universe (*sraddha visvam ideam jgat*). In the *Taitt. Br.*, III.12.3.1 and II.8.8.64, she is celebrated with various epithets. *Sraddha* has been used in the sense of faith and is described to be the support of the universe, the first product of a religious ceremonial, and bestower of immortality to her adherents and controller of the world. She constitutes the divine essence of gods (*sraddhya devo devatvam asnute*). She is said to have been

derived from gifts, and truth is described to be obtained from her (*Vaj. S.XIX.30*). The last part of the statement contains a great psychological truth. Thus in the *Vyasabhasya* on the *Sutras* of Patanjali (1.20), it has been remarked that *sraddha*, like an affectionate mother, nourishes the *yogin*, helps him in his onward march towards the cherished ideal of final enlightenment (*sa hi jananiva kalyani yoginam pati*). She sustains the germ of greatness, helps it to fertilise, grow and blossom forth in its fullness. She was associated with truth by Prajapati, who, also connected the untruth with disbelief (*asraddha*).

Among vices, gambling seems to have been very prominent. Both in the RV. and AV. we find a number of hymns delineating the tragic fate of a gambler, his sad laments over the misfortunes he has brought upon himself by dice. RV. X.34 states with a touch of poetic humour how the dice, though devoid of hand, overcomes those who have hands (the men); itself cold, burns their hearts and guides their destinies; how it tempts the gambler by prospective gain, infatuates him and them, throws him overboard, berefts completely of money and affection of his dear ones. In AV. VI.109 *apsaras* (name for celestial nymphs) are associated with dice and both of them are invoked jointly. The *apsaras* are besought to bring money and abundance to the invoker. It shows the passion that was prevalent at the time for dice, while the RV. portrays also the darker aspects.

Theft and enmity are referred to in various places. Stars have been compared to thieves fading away before the sun's rays.

Viraj and Krta

In a recent book on Vedic gambling (Falk : 1986) the relation between Viraj (number ten) and the winning Krta is treated in a rather confusing way on account of the misinterpretation of some relevant Brahmana-passages. These passages (LB.1,235 and 256) deal with the numeral symbolism of the Agnistoma.

Details will be discussed later. First it should be observed that Falk's conclusion is at variance with everything we know about Vedic rituals and its participants. One cannot simply assume as Soma sacrifice of Samavedins. All the Vedas participate in such as ritual. It is hardly probable that the orthodox Kuru-Pancalas should have rejected the performance of the famous Agnistoma on account of an esoteric discussion between Samavedic specialists on a detail. The Kuru-Pancalas provide the standard of ritual practice. "There seems little doubt that the Brahminic culture was developed in the country of the Kuru Pancalas" (Macdonell-Keith I : 1958, p.168). The opposition between Jaiminias and Kurus or Kuru-Pancalas is not a correct one, since it is between a Samavedic school and a folk or country. If the homeland of the JB, was different from the country inhabited by the Kuru-Pancalas, then a reference to deviating details prevailing among the Samavedins of that country is of course possible. The general conclusion as formulated by Falk, however, is hardly tenable from the ritualistic point of view.

Now I will discuss the details of the passages which have brought Falk to his conclusion. First I quote p.124:

"Innerhalb der Vedischen Literature propagieren besonders die Samavedins die Viraj-Zahlen. In der Samvargavidya (i.e. in the Samavedic ChU.) wird der Weert des *sakyam radhah* is rendered by him as "I may get (i.e., have) prosperity with me" (*dhanam samgameyam*), by the *nic-suffix*. According to his interpretation 'enabling prosperity' should mean bringing it under one's possession. Bohtlingk-Roth's Sanskrit-German Dictionary (BR) does mention some occurrences of *sak-* in the sense of 'bringing out'; e.g., *Mann* II.139 has been quoted in which a *saknuvan*—has been rendered 'unable to bring about' in the phrase *danena vadhanirnekam sarpadinam asaknuvan* 'not bringing about the destruction of serpents etc. by charity', but one could easily supply 'bring about' as an elliptical phrase; e.g., cf. *Katha Up.*: 3,2, the phrase

naciketam sakemahi has been explained, according to BR, by Sankara as *naceketam jnatum sakemahi*.

We shall now further illustrate, from the *Rgveda*, occurrences of *sak-* as a transitive verb.

1. 3.16.6, *sagadhi vajasya subhaga* 'O Lord of prosperity! grant food!, (Sayana interprets *sagdhi* as *isise* in the present indicative, which is not necessary).
2. 2.2.12, *svapatyasya sagdhi nah* 'grant us good offspring'.
3. 4, 21, 10, *purustuta kratva nah sagdhi rayah* 'Being praised with sacrificial prayers, grant (us) prosperity'.
4. 8.3.11, *sagdhu na indra...rayim* 'O Indra, grant us affluence'.
5. 8.3.12, *sagdhi... svarnaram* 'Grant power to (the *yajamana*) worthy of (access to) paradise'.
6. 8.61.5, *sagdhyusu sacipate* 'Grant (what we want), O Indra!'

The above examples will automatically reveal the fact that in these contents *sak-* is unquestionably a transitive verb.

Vispala

The word *vispala* is attested only in the *Rgveda* as a proper name in one of the Asvina legends. At one time it was believed that it was the name of a woman who was helped by Asvina with an iron leg. Hence Grassmann (*Woerterbuch*), "Eigennamen eines Weibes, dem die Acvinen in der Schlacht helfen und ihr ein ehernes Bein ansetzen"; and Boethligk-Roth: "N.pr.eines Weibes, welchem die Acvin das abgerissene Bein wieder anheilen oder durch ein ehernes ersetzen". But the correct meaning of *vispala* as the name of an animal, -a mare- was pointed out by Pischel in *Ved. ST.* I(1989), 171-73 where some of the earlier views regarding the meaning of *vispala* as a proper name of a woman, perhaps of a royal

family, or of dawn, are also referred to. Having considered the passages which are useful for understanding the word and having established its meaning as the name of a mare, Pischel gives towards the end of his article the Vispala-legend as follows: "Der Sohndes Agastya oder dessen Patron besass eine Situte, Vicpala mit Namen, der bei einem Wetternen zu Ehren des Vivasvant ein Bein abgerissen wurde Agastya flehte die Acvins, seine bevorzugten Gottheiten, um Hilfe an und diessetzten der Vicpala ein eisernes Bein an, wodurch sie den Pres gewann".

The purpose of the present paper is not to go into the details of the above legend but to offer a suggestion regarding the derivation of the word. So far the only attempt that has been made to my knowledge is the one by Grassmann (*Wörterbuch*) who observes: "urspruenglich wol die Haus oder Stamm beherrschende, wenn pala= pala Erweiterung von pa ist." The same view has been referred to in Dictionary of Monier-Williams where we read: "accord. to some fr. 3 vii and *pala-pala*. But this derivation is hardly satisfactory, for apart from the fact that it presupposes *pala=pala* the very */pal* itself and its derivative *pala* as an agent noun would have been accented on the suffix and this accent on the ending would have been kept up in the compound. We would have thus expected *vispala* and not *vispala*. Moreover this explanation leads us to add to the exceptions of Sanskrit sandhi rules, for in the light of the above explanation we expect a form *vilpala* instead of *vispala*.

It is therefore suggested that *vispala* may not be separated as *vis-pala* but as *vispa-la* and be considered as a case of Vedic haplology, the word having to be derived from *visva-vara*. This derivation, is supported by the accent of *vispa-la* which is on the second syllable. In this respect it agrees with *visva-vara*, and in fact this is the usual accent of *visva-* in compounds whenever it carries the accent.

Now the adjective *visva-vara* (fem. *vara*) in the sense “allbegehr’t (Geldner, also Sayana) is used mainly with the deities like Agni, Usas, Brhaspati, Vayu and some others. What interests us, however, here when *vispala* as the name of a mare is sought to be derived from *visva-vara* is the fact that this adjective is also occasionally used in the Rgveda with the mares. Thus the *niyuts* of Indra in the RV.6.22.11 (also occurring in the AV.20.36.11) and those accompanying Indra and Vayu in the RV.7.91.6 are called *visva-vara* ‘chosen by all, desired by all’. Moreover it is possible to suggest that at least in some cases where *visva-vara* is used with some word meaning ‘wealth, riches, etc.’ what is intended by the latter is a group of horses of mares. This suggested by the fact that in these cases where *rayi*, *rai*, or *dravina* is used with *visva-vara* it is either further qualified by the adjective *sugmya* (RV.1.48.13) or is associated with the verb *inv-*(*sam inva* RV.5.4.7, *invati* RV.6.5.1) or the very *yam* (*pra yandhi* RV 3.36.10). In the end it may be noted that the use of *visva-vara* as a proper name is attested for the Vedic times by the fact a certain woman of the Atri family, *Visvavara* by name, is reputed to have been the seer of RV.5.28.

All these facts seem to suggest the possibility that a certain mare of the legendary fame had received the name *visva-vara* because she was particularly liked by all as the winner of a difficult race (cf. RV.1.112.10, 1.116.15 and the story in the words of Pischel given above). This name, by haplology, seems to have become *visva-ra*, for which the Avestan equivalent would be *vispa-ra*. It is well known that of Skt. *visva*, the Avestan equivalent is *vispa*. These two forms *visva-ra* and *vispa-ra* further seem to have given rise to a contaminated form *vispa-ra*, and it is this form that we anticipate in the older portions of the Rgveda. *vispa-la*, however, occurs only in later portions and hence only form with *l*-has survived.

Vratyas

The Vratyas do not figure in the *Rgveda*; but in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Pancavimsa Br.* they have a prominent reference. The *Atharvaveda* has a long hymn that describes the vratyas; and this description corroborates with that from the *Pancavimsa Br.* According to the *Atharvaveda*, among the various accompaniments of the Vratya, who is called the Mahadeva, all fine lores and a woman, termed as *pumscali*, follow him in all quarters (AV.XV1). A typical glimpse is : “Faith is his harlot; friend is the man from the Magadhas; Day is his turban (*usnisam*); Night his hair, the *kalmali* (? , sun) is his gem” (AV XV.1.,6). The Vratya chief has a whip, and attendants go before his cart (Ibid. FF). His garment is twofold.” According to the *Pancavimsa Br.*, where he is called Grhapati, “a turban, a goad, a bow without arrow (*jyahroda*), a board-covered rough vehicle, a red garment with black fringes, two goat-skins—one white and one black; a silver ornament *nispa*) round the neck; this was his equipment” (XVII.1.14). The said *Brahmana* has an interesting remark about the Vratyas, “The gods, forsooth, went to the world of heaven; of them the adherents of the ‘god’ were left behind (on the earth), leading the life of the Vratyas. They live the group-life of destitutes, for, they neither practice the study of the Veda, nor do they plough” (Ibid. 1-4).

This will show that they were a nomadic-cult; and, on the basis of the description of the dress of the Mahavratya, who is called Mahadeva, it will be seen that the *red* and *black* motif in the dress corresponds to the epithet of Rudra-Siva (*nila-lohita*). The importance given, and reverence shown to the Vratya in the Vedic texts indicates that they were a cult among the Aryan clan; and followed slightly different practices. They were, hence, on the outer verge of the set Aryan society that practised slightly different sacrificial rituals; and, in all probability, followed the Rudra-Siva cult. The following points have to be particularly noted. The *Panca*.

Br. (XXIV.18.2) refers to the Vratyas performing a sacrifice. The whole hymn refers to the Vratya-sacrifices; and states that the Vratyas are the adherents of the 'God'. They held a sacrificial session with Buddha Saumya as their lord (*sthapati*). They consecrated themselves without having previously begged to king Varuna a place for divine whorship, which is the usual Vedic practice. (cf. *Sadv. Br.* 11.10.4-10.4.10; *Vaudg. S.S.II.2*). Caland (*Brahmana of the Twenty-five Chapters*, Calcutta, 1931, p.621 notes:—

“The Vratyas were not willing to beg a *devayajna* of Varuna, precisely because they were adherents of the Deva and not of the usual gods.” King Varuna cursed them, “I preclude you from a share in the sacrifice; ye shall not know a path leading to the gods.” Therefore they (i.e. the Vratya-priests) do not take the sacrificial material which is usual (i.e. rice, barley etc.), nor Soma (see also *Panca. Br.* XVII.1). It should be noted that Rudra is called Vratapati (*Vaj. Sam.* 16.25. *Taitt. Sam.* IV.5.4.1). It is probable that Rudra-Mahadeva as the chief of the *ganas* or *vinayakas*, or of the *kuluncas* or *taskaras* came from his being closely similar to the Mahadeva of the Vratyas. In two details the attire of the Mahavratya Grhapati exactly tallies with that of Rudra in the *Rgveda*. The Vratya-chief is said to have a *niska* a silver (*rajata*); and also he has his *mani* (jewel) in the form of the *kalmali*, whatever that word might indicate (the commentator taking it to mean the sun, and scholars being silent about its nature). Now, it is to be noted very particularly that Rudra is said to be *kalmalikin* and of all the gods, it is he alone that is said to have the *niska*; again he has the bow (though with the arrows in this context), which is unique with him RV.II.38.8) *namasya kalmakinam namobhir grnimasi tvesan Rudrasya nama; v. 10 arhan bibharsio sayakani dhanva arhan niskam yajatam visvarupam*).

It is difficult to say if the *rajata niskā*, which is unique for Rudra, was mis-uttered as '*rajata niskā*' in the context of

the Vratya, or if the Vratya, or if the Vratya '*rajata*' was taken up as *yajata* by the Vedic people. It is not improbable that the red-black attire was suggested from the fire itself; but it is difficult to say anything definite about some kind of fire-worship among the Vratyas in the absence of anything concrete. However, the *Atharvaveda* records their belief as regards the colour of the garment (AV.XV.1.8 "With black (*nilena*) one vanquishes the disliked enemy, with red (*lohitena*) he smites the hating enemy; so say the Brahmavadans"). Agni is said to be *nila-lohita* garments figures; and the sense is to ward off the evil the *krtya* would cause (RV. X.895.28 *nila-prstha* (RV.III.7.3). In the Vedic marriage the *nila-lohitam, bhavati, krtyasktir vyajyate*).

The *Rgveda* does not mention the Vratyas; but there is no doubt they were familiar in a different form, that of the *munis* that wore coloured garments and had long flying hair (RV.X.136.2 *munyayop vata-rasana pisanga vasate pisana pisanga vasate mala' for muni* also Ibid, where his supernatural powers are mentioned; also VII.56.8, and VIII.17.14; at the latter place, *indro muninam sakha*). It is thus clear that the Vratyas have a sound Vedic background, though their difference from the priestly cult of the set sacrifice has been accepted. In the context of the symbolic, sacrifice, the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.* has, "To the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, the Vratya" (XXX.8), which would indicate their mystic powers, and erotic cult.

W

Women

Enough, on the Vedic use of wine or intoxicating drinks; let us now look for a moment on their usage of *women* and especially on *polygamy*. But, first, observe how necessary a wife was to the sacrificing priest and to the sacrificer. A section of the Ait. Br. vii. 10. is devoted to the consideration of the question—How the sacrifice of him who has no wife, or whose wife has died, can be performed? (Haug. ii. p.456); the rule being that the sacrifice must always have his wife with him, when he is sacrificing, their hands being tied together on such an occasion.

Women and Polygamy

When clarified butter (looked at with half closed eyes) is being offered, the wife sits near the Garhapatya fire, in order that the hem of her cloth may be tied to that of her husband, while sitting and “facing the north to prevent domestic broils.” By so acting she attains to all her objects; and “this is her pre-eminence”; she having no right to perform a sacrifice in herself, she attains it by being linked with her husband as above described. The husband secures his ends also. Tait. Br. iii.3.3.1-9. Below we find an explanation of the mantra for

the untying of the knot on the hem of the clothes of the husband and wife. iii.3.10-1.

When the sacrificer has no wife, the answer is that "Faith is his wife, and Truth is the sacrificer. the marriage of Faith and truth is a most happy one. For by Faith and Truth joined they conquer the celestial world."

The union of man and wife is not always thus beautifully figured. Woman is sometimes, even in Vedic times, spoken of rather disrespectfully, as for instance, in the Satapatha Brahmana, iii.2,4. "wherefore even to this day women are given to vain things : for it was on this wise that Vach turned there to, and other women do as she (the goddess) did. And hence it is to him who dances and sings that they most readily take a fancy."

There is another passage in the Satapatha Br. i. 8, 3, 6, which shows that the prohibition of marriage between blood relations, which prevails among Hindus at the present day, did not hold in Vedic times. The words of the Brahmana are:— "Hence from one and the same man spring forth the enjoyer (the husband), and the one to be enjoyed (the wife) for may kustfik (*gatyati*) live sporting and rejoicing together, saying. In the fourth or third man (*i.e.* generation) we unite.

This seems to ignore the gotra prohibition which has prevailed from the days of Apastamba, by which a Banerjea must not, on any account, marry a Banerjea, or a Chatterjea a Chatterjea, &c.

But polygamy did prevail, as will be seen from the following passages from the Aitareya Brahmana.

"For one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at one and the same time." Words which seem to imply that she might have many in succession. To the same effect are words at p. 248.—"For even many wives live with one and the same husband only."

We may, however, be permitted to quote the following:—

“He sacrifices to the man first, then to the women. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour. He sacrifices to the man as to one, and to the women as to many. Hence also one man has many wives. He sacrifices to the man both with the Vashtakara and the svahakara, to the women with the latter alone. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour.”
Sat.P.Br. ix..1.4.6.

Of course, there may be more than one reason for the doing of a thing. Hence we have the following given by the older Brahmana. (*Ait.Br.*iii.23).

“First there existed the Rick and the Saman, separate from one another; Sa which was the Rick, said to the Saman—“Let us marry.” The Saman answered. ‘No, for my greatness exceeds yours.’ Thereupon the Rick became two; both spoke to the Saman to the same effect; but it did not comply with their request. The Rick became divided into three; all three spoke to the Saman to the same effect. Thus the Saman joined the three Richas. Thence the Saman singers use for their chant three Richas, i.e. they perform their work of chanting with three Richas. This is also in worldly affairs. For one man has many wives; but one wife has not many husbands at the same time.”

The reason given in explanation or justification of polygamy in these passages are almost too absurd to be quoted.

There is, however, worldly wisdom in the following:

“When it is repeated with a very low voice, then the wife does not quarrel with him in his house”, and again the gods said:—“There is a beloved wife of Indra, Prasaha by name. Let us enquire of her what Indra’s intention is. “So they did. They inquired of her what Indra’s intention was. She said to them ‘I shall give you the answer tomorrow.’ For women ask their husbands; they do so during the night.”

An absurd story follows as to the wonderful power of a stalk of grass cut at both ends.

Hindu writers delight in praising the chastity of Vedic women, on what grounds of fact or history it is difficult to discover. The evidence of the Vedic writings goes rather against such an assertion, not that we should hazard an opposite assertion. But it is well not to take for granted the sinlessness of any people. Sinfulness was what the Brahmanas took for granted, as for example from the descriptions given of the *Varuna-Pragyasa* offerings, (Sat. P. Br. ii.5.2.20). There it will be seen, from the question put to the sacrificer's wife, that sin is taken for granted, the one matter of importance is that confession or enquiry be made as to the fellow-sinner.

What shall we say of the following Hindu confessional?—

According to Katy. V.5,7-9, a woman is either to give the total number or the names of her lovers, or to hold up as many stalks of grass, when questioned by the priest at the time of the sacrifice:—

“When the priest is about to lead the sacrificer's wife away, he asks her “With whom holdest thou intercourse? Now when a woman who belongs to one man carries an intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits a sin against Varuna. He therefore thus asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth; this is why thus asks her. And whatever connection she confesses not, that indeed will turn injurious to her relatives.” Sat. P. Br. ii.5.2.20.

The Tait. Br. i.6.5.2. adds:—

“He makes the wife confess: thereby he renders her pure, and then he leads her to penance. Were she not to reveal the name of a paramour she has, she would harm a dear relative. Let her declare ‘N.N. is my paramour’, by thus declaring any one she causes him to be seized by Varuna.”

At Sat. P.Br. iii.3,4,18, there is an account of Indra's sin with Medhatithi, with Mena the daughter of Vrishanasva, and with Ahalya. Indra's character is however, otherwise so black that the reference is enough. It is otherwise with Prajapati. We refer to the story of Prajapati as quoted above illustrating the star myth.

In the Sat.P.Br.i.9.2.11-12. we are informed that the priest makes offerings to the wives of the gods because they are mothers of children; and adds:—

“When he offers to the wives of the gods, he shuts the fire out from view on the Eastern side [i.e., the side of which the gods are] for up to time when they offer to the *samishtayayus*, the deities continue waiting, thinking—“This he must offer up to us!’ He thereby conceals this offering from them; and accordingly Yajnavalkya says, ‘Whenever human woman here eat, they do so apart from men’.”

A wife the mother of no son, has from Vedic times down to our own day been looked upon not only with contempt, but frequently even a contaminating curse, as in the following passage from the S.P.Br. V.3.1.13

“On the following day the priest goes to the house of a discarded wife and prepares a pap for Nirriti (a god of Evil or destruction):— A discarded wife is one who has no son. He cooks the pap for Nirriti of black rice after splitting the grains with his nails. He offers it with the words, “This, O Nirriti; is the share: accept it graciously, bail!’ For a wife that is without a son is possessed, with Nirrti; and whatever of Nirrti's nature there is in her, that he thereby propitiates, and thus Nirriti does not take possession of him while he is consecrated. The fee for this oblation consists of a black, descript, deceased cow; for such a one also is possessed with Nirriti. He says to the wife, ‘Let her not dwell his day in my dominion!’ Thus he removes evil from himself.” S.P.Br.v.3.P.13. See also below, extracts from the Mantra Brahmana.

This Nirriti corresponds somewhat to the Deshapati (lord of Evil) of the Gopatha Brahmana (I.28) who at the beginning of the Dvapara-Yuga is supposed to have acted as Rishinam-ekadeshah, and to be the Mara of the Buddhists.

In the ceremonies connected with the fashioning of the clay for the fire-pan, we find the following words concerning the goddess Sinivali, a passage which would seem to indicate that the idea of the form of the perfect woman has undergone a change:—

“Making it soft with her hands, may Sinivali fashion it!—Sinivali doubtless is speech : thus ‘May she, having made it soft with her hands, fashion it!’ Sinivali, the fair knotted, fair-braided, fair-looking;—for Sinivali is a woman, and that is indeed the perfect form of woman, to wit the fair-knotted, fair-braided: he thus makes her perfect; ‘May she place the fire-pan into thy hands, O great-Aditi !’ Sat.P.Br. vi.5.

There is curious story told of the goddess Sri, who is described as one of the two wives of Aditya. We quote Dr. Muir’s summary of the story:-

“Sri is described as issuing forth from Prajapati when he was performing intense austerity with a view to the creation of living beings. Beholding her then standing resplendent and trembling, the gods were covetous of her, and proposed to Prajapati that they should be allowed to kill her, and appropriate her gifts. He replied that she was a female, and that males did not generally kill females. They should therefore take from her gifts without depriving her of life. In consequence they robbed her of all she possessed. Sri then complained to Prajapati that they had taken all these things from her. He told her to demand them back from them by sacrifice. “Sat.P.Br.xi.4.3.1-4.

Soma could scarcely be expected to be a model husband. In the Tait. Samhita is seen how he and his 33 wives, all daughters of Prajapati, did not get on well. Their happiness being marred

by his partiality for one, giving rise to the jealousy of the others. But at present we are more concerned as to the views taken by the lords of creation of their help-meet. In the Tait. Br.3.10.1 ff. It is told how—

“Sita Savitri loved Soma, while he loved Sraddha. Sita went to her father Prajapati and saluting him, asked to be allowed to approach him with her complaint. She loved Soma, she said, while he loved Sraddha. Prajapati made for her a paste formed of a sweet-smelling substance, to which he imparted potency by the recitation of certain formulas, and then painted it upon her forehead. She then returned to Soma, who invited her to approach him. She desired him to promise her his society, and to tell her what he had in his hand. Whereupon he gave her the three Vedas; and in consequence women always ask for some gift as a price for their society, “&c. The Brahmana goes on to recommend the use of the same paste, prepared with the same formulas, as a specific for producing love or good-will.”

The passage is of interest as clearly indicating that woman in Vedic times had access to the three Vedas; from which, by Manu's Institutes, they have been debarred for many ages. That they took part in the sacrifices is clear from quite a number of passages. The following text we consider decisive:—

“Ida, the daughter of Manu, was a revealer of sacrifice. She heard, “The Asuras are placing fire’... Ida said to Manu ‘I shall be placed and fire that thou shalt increase in offspring, cattle and twins; thou shalt be firmly established in this world, and shalt conquer the heavenly world’. She first placed the Garhapatya fire. It was through the Garhapatya that she produced for him offering.” Tait.i.4.4.4.

If from the above we learnt that a woman might act as priest, the following story would seem to say that sometimes she had to suffer as Victim:—

“Manu had a bull. Into it an Asura-slaying, enemy-slaying voice had entered. In consequence of this bull’s snorting and bellowing, Asureas and Rakshas were continually destroyed. Then the Asuras said—“This bull, alas! does us mischief; how shall we overcome him?” Now there were two priests of the Asuras called Kilata and Akuli. They said: ‘Manu is a devout believer :let us make trial of him’. They went and said to him, ‘Let us sacrifice for thee.’ Wherewith” he asked. ‘With this bull,’ they replied. ‘Be it so’ he answered. When it had been slaughtered, the voice departed out of it, and entered into Manu’s wife, Manava. Wherever they hear her speaking, the Asuras and Raksas continue to be destroyed in consequence of her voice. The Asuras said, ‘She does us yet more mischief; for the human voice speaks more.’ Kilata and Akuli said, let us sacrifice for thee.’ ‘Wherewith?’ he asked ‘With this thy wife,’ they replied. ‘Be it so,’ he answered. When she had been slaughtered, the voice departed out of her.” Sat.P.br.i, 1.4.14. ff.

The same story will be found with variations in the Kathaka Brahmana, 30.1.ff.

A mantra is recited when throwing into the fire the grass bundle and the branch with which the calf is kept from the cow, and another when it is actually thrown into the fire, then follows an anecdote in praise of throwing the grass bundle before the wife of the Yajmana (sacrificing householder) identifying the grass broom with the beard of Prajapati. Tait. Br.iii.3-9. 10-25.

In dealing with women, the Rsis are guilty of using language which in the present day would be regarded as indecent, if not obscene. We meet with a number of such expressions in the Mantra Brahmana, in its marriage ritual. But there are two things which ought to be borne in mind in reference to such passages- first, that such passages are devoid of all pruriency, just as similar passages in the Old Testament are. They are ritualistic and religious. The second point is the fact

that the euphemism, or silence now insisted on in regard to such matters, is comparatively modern. We find such language used by leading Christians and even Fathers of the third and fourth century, such as Clement of Alexandria and Methodius Bishop of Tyre (311 A.D.); both of them have their works translated in the Ante-Nicene Library of Messrs. T. and T. Clark, but with the disqualification that some passages have to be left untranslated in the classic language, because untranslatable into chaste English.

Take for example the following expurgated passages from the mantra Brahmana. They give clear indications as to the position the wife occupied in the Vedic family, the duties expected, and the results changeable to her because of sins of which she would be regarded as guilty. Mantras 3 and 4 remind us of the fact that as in part of the ceremonial of baptism in early times (post-Apostolic, of course) candidates were anointed with oil, the deacon anointing only the forehead of women, while the deaconess anointed their whole body:

The same mantras only tell too plainly and bluntly that the power of the wife with her husband was altogether in her sexual animal nature, that by it she was able, to "bring under control all intractable males," and thus "controlled her husband and became mistress of his household." The language cannot be quoted. There are no words indicating that she might be useful by her intelligence or by her moral or spiritual nature.

"5. May the goddesses, O girl, that have spun the threads of this cloth, woven it, spread it out in this shape, and furnished it with fringes on both sides, continue to clothe thee till thou grow old. O long lived one, put on this cloth.

"6. O Women employed in weaving cloths, may you ever continue to supply this girl (of hundred years) with cloths and contribute to prolong her life by your benedictions. O girl—descended from the Aryas, may you continue in life and strength for a hundred years and enjoy the blessings of

prosperity as long as you live.

“7. The creator committed this girl to the care of her father, the father brought her out before the fire; ‘I have been made over to my husband, in the presence of this fire. I trust that I shall be blessed withal with wealth and children.’”

“13. O wedded girl, never let thy wailings be heard in the house during the night, rather let the women of thy enemies’ household be overwhelmed with grief. Never shouldst thou give way to lamentations striking thy heart. May you pass your wedded life with your children in happiness in thy husband’s house. May this prayer be literally fulfilled.

“The following mantras to be pronounced when the sacrificial fire is being fed with ghee.

“14. O young wedded girl! the three-fold evils that proceed from sin, namely barrenness, sorrow-resulting from the death of children and the (ignoble) ties (that bind thee to the earth) as also the other evils that are in thee, have been taken as wreaths from off thy head and cast about the necks of thy enemies. May this mantra uttered by me be literally fulfilled.”

Speaking of the Veda (including *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas*) at a large public meeting of his countrymen in Calcutta, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, C.I.E., said:-

“I always fight shy of the Veda.

“It is a cornucopia that yields to its admirer whatever he desires, and no one can be sure of a general deduction from any premise derived from it. I have found in it mention made of a sage or Rishi who married ten damsels all at once. In another place two gods, the Asvins together took one wife. Thus you have self-choice, polygamy and polyandry. The digesters of this Veda, the Sutrakars make mention of the Rakshasa form of marriage, in which a brute seizes a damsel by her hair, and drags her away after killing or disabling her guardians and relatives, and while she screams piteously for help. This was

probably the most ancient form of marriage. It may shock your sensibility to be told so, but forcible abduction was the usual form of marriage among your remote ancestors, and old Manu, while denouncing it as bestial, was obliged to admit when he wrote that it was a form of marriage and not rape. In India, it was replaced by the form most admired by Manu, that of gift, or Prajapati, and it obtains to this day.

“In it there is no selection, no self-choice, no consent on the part of the bride; she is an article of gift: she is given away, even as a book or a picture, a cow or any other chattel. (Laughter.) You may laugh at my way of putting the case before you; but it is literally true. Recall to your mind the mantras of marriage, and you will at once perceive that the case is one of (gift) *dana* and nothing more.”

Y

Yajna

As practically every commentator has noted, *yajna* is the central focus of the *Rg Veda*. Practically all of its verses are connected with *yajna* in one way or the other, with a good many chanted as an integral part of the *yajna* ritual. These verses offer the first clue to a proper interpretation of the ritual, for they are essentially verses of praise and celebration. They sing the joyous participation of life in the deeper mysterious levels of reality opened up by the *yajna*.

Furthermore, as the continuing tradition insists, the wisdom (*Vac*) of these verses is no ordinary human creation; it is an eternal, uncreated wisdom sung by reality itself, and then heard by the great *ris* and given form in these verses. It is a later, broken vision that takes the sounds of the Vedas to be merely words about things. The superficially clear distinction between a word and its meaning or significance is a product of fragmentation that would be unintelligible to the *rsis*. They understood the power of sounds too invoke, join, and create reality to be an auspicious dimension of reality itself, not something separate from it. This is why word and consciousness are equated, as are consciousness, reality and truth. The Veda vision of Brahman as mantra or payer that is

at the same time power, indeed, that as power comes to be seen as the ultimate reality of all existence, is rooted in the eidentity of sound and reality.

Two hymns in particular, 10.71 and 10.125, bring out the Vedic conception of sound as consciousness and reality. These hymns invoke *Vac*, the holy word through which consciousness penetrates the multiplicity of existent forms to the underlying unity. "From this holy sound", say Dirghatamas, "flow the oceans, by her the four regions of space live, and from her proceeds the ultimate ground in which the entire universe is rooted (I.164.42)".

According to 10.71, the origin of speech consciousness or *Vac* lie in identifying and naming the diverse form of existence. "The best in them", says the first verse "what was spotless and mysteriously hidden within them, was, through live, brought to light". The second verse indicates the understanding and discrimination that underlies speech consciousness, a discrimination on between diverse form of existence that are understood to be part of a deeper wholeness. Here the *rsi* tells us that "When *Vac* was created through wisdom it was like winning grain with a basket."

In the third verse we are told that the *rsis* of old brought *Vac* to the *yajna*—through which this wholeness is recreated in diverse forms : "They followed the tracks of *Vac* through *yajna*, where they discovered her within the *rsis*. Drawing her out, they placed her everywhere. Seven singers praise her harmonies." But this speech-consciousness is mysterious and profound, unknown by those who fail to penetrate the mysteries of reality: "Many a person seeing *Vac* does not see her (really), and many a person who hears her does not (really) hear her," according to the fourth verse.

In 10.125 the personified speech-consciousness describes herself as omnipresent, the power of the Gods, the power of life itself. Indeed she is the origin of existence not limited by

the various forms existence takes. In the first verse she says, “I move with the Rudras and also with the Vasus, I move with the Adityas and all the Gods. I support both Mitra and Varuna, Indra and Agni and the two Asvins. I uphold Soma the exuberant; I uphold Tvastr, Pusan and Bhaga”. In verse four she says. “The man who sees, who breathes, who hears words spoken, obtains his nourishment through me alone. Not recognizing me, he yet dwells in me. Listen, you who know ! What I say is worthy of belief”.

Finally, in verses seven and eight she says, “At the world’s summit I bring forth the Father. My origin is in the Waters, in the ocean. Thence I am spread through all existing worlds and even touch the heaven with my forehead, I breathe out strongly like the wind while clasping unto myself all worlds, all things that are. I tower above the earth, above the heaven, so mighty am I in my power and splendor !

The identification of *Vac* with the deepest level of reality itself expressed in these last verses helps explain the intentionality of *yajna*. The *rsis* use their inspired vision to express the very sounds of reality, creating verses for the *yajna* that can open the human heart to the transforming power of the underlying, mysterious energy of existence. Without these verses the *yajna* is not effective, for through these liturgical chants and songs human action is informed by *Vac*, the luminous dimension of the underlying reality in which all existence is grounded. Only when their intelligence is directed is by the intentionality of the chants through which *Vac* illumines the deeper levels of reality can humans participate in *yajna*.

Although the hymns themselves are the primary means for creating an effective context for the life-renewing efficacy of *yajna* and for preparing human consciousness for entry into the mysterious depths of existence where the transforming power of ultimate reality is encountered, other features of the celebrative ritual also contribute importantly to the creation

of context and the preparation of consciousness. As Willard Johnson points out in a recent study, symposia in which the deeper mysteries of existence were contemplated by focusing on metaphysical riddles helped *yajna* participants prepare their consciousness for encounter with the ultimate power (*brahman*) of existence. Describing the function of these symposia, he says, "In the symposium context priests prepared for the sacrifice (*yajna*) by grappling with verbal formulations evocative of *brahman*. The peculiar, enigmatic formulations deliberately attempted to force them to leave ordinary modes of consciousness to each other, enhanced, paranormal modes that would permit full visionary participation in the sacrifice (*yajna*), thus guaranteeing its total effectiveness.

Vac, the luminous dimension of reality through which knowledge functions, is, like reality itself, seen hierarchically. As Dirghatmas points out, *Vac* is divided into four levels. The wise *rsis* know all four, but ordinary consciousness knows only the first and shallowest level. The other three levels are hidden, not encountered by ordinary means (RV, 1.164.45). But for the *Yajna* to be effective, consciousness must be transformed so that the normally hidden levels are illumined. The metaphysical riddles or enigmas that the symposia contestants struggle with are an important means of this transformation. In RV, 6.9 a contestant describes how, not understanding the enigma, he appealed to Agni Vaisvanara, the light by which humans receive illumination. When Agni entered him his mind was freed, for this is the same light that inspires even the gods. Now, he says, "Far beyond soar my ears, far beyond my eyes, far away to this light which is set in my heart!"

But now, having been illumined by the normally hidden levels of *Vac*, his problem becomes one of trying to describe this illumined deep reality, for the language of ordinary thought is equipped to deal only with the shallowest level of reality. So now that his mind has gone far beyond this superficial level at

which ordinary language functions he asks, “What really shall I say? What indeed shall I even think ?

We should not assume, however, that metaphysical speculation alone can achieve this transformation of consciousness. Undoubtedly soma, the hallucinogenic beverage that was an integral part of the celebration, was also a contribution factor. Soma was regarded as the illuminer of consciousness, the libation that opened up new powers and realms of vision. It sets the mind in motion (RV,9.21.7) and gives the tongue an eye (1.87.5). Indeed, so important was soma that an entire book of the *Rg Veda* is devoted to honoring this wonderful power in its symbolic form as deity. And 8.43.2, which joyously declares, ‘We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal! We have discovered the light and the Gods!’ testifies eloquently to the acknowledged power and significance of this aspect of *yajna*.

Fire, Agni, is the other aspect of *yajna* that we need to consider here, for without Agni there can be no *yajna*. As God, Agni is Lord of light and life, symbol of the ultimate creative power. As the blazing fire centering the *yajna*, Agni is the embodiment of this world, in both its creative and destructive dimensions. But in the integral vision of the Vedas the worldly and divine realms are not really separate. Agni, as the priest making the offering the *yajna* transforms into renewed life, infusing it with the power of sacred reality, symbolizes their integration. All this, of course is summed up in the opening verse of the *Rg Veda* which invokes Agni in chant :

Honor to Agni, chosen priest

God, minister of *yajna*

Offer to oblation, give of supreme treasure.

But as an integrative symbol, Agni is even more powerful.. The spirit of Agni present in the blazing *yajna* fires is also present in the sun who, hidden by the night’s darkness, illumines the day with the coming of the dawn. The sun, after all, is the

eye of Agni, and its power to bring forth life (as Savitr) and to illumine the world is really the power of Agni. By extension, since consciousness is seen as a kind of illumination, Agni is also regarded as the light and inspirer of intelligence. Thus the famous *Gayatri* sings, "We meditate upon the glorious splendor of the Divine lifegiver (savitr). May he himself illumine our intelligence!" No wonder that Agni should be invoked as the illuminator of the mysterious wholeness which ground all existence, natural, human and divine.

Before moving on to the Vedic vision of Wholeness, a comment about the *yajna* offering is in order. These offerings, typically cereals and ghee, were not thrown into the fire to placate angry deities or to cajole them into offering boons to humans. Rather, they symbolized the offerings of the fullness of life to the originating power for renewal. Without this renewal life would wither and die.

Perhaps the *rishis* were inspired by the example of a seed giving its potential too the seedling. Through this offering the seedling gains life and fulfills the seed, just as the mother gives life to the embryo and the embryo gains life by partaking in the mother's offering. In these examples, through the offering of one moment of existence the next is born, fulfilling the previous moment. Each previous stage of existence is the womb of the succeeding stage and only through the offering of the fullness of the present stage can the next stage or moment of existence be brought about. Although this kind of offering or giving can be thought of in sacrificial terms, so doing requires that we greatly enlarge our concept of sacrifice. Most of us, when we play, study, work or celebrate, bring forth and offer in the present moment of existence the best we have. Indeed, to fail to give our best is to lose the fullness of life, to slowly atrophy and die—just as surely as if consumed by cancer. Yet we do not usually think of this giving as a sacrifice, let alone as surrendering something precious to placate the Gods.

Yak

Yak has been a part of the achievements of Visnu as would be clear later on. In this studies greater attention has been centred round his mythological aspects. His material aspects are almost neglected or unnecessarily shrouded in mystery. Some scholars have drawn attention of students of the *Rgveda* to the fact of the actual life of the Vedic man. Gonda observes Whereas nowadays it seems to be generally agreed that a thorough study of the vocabulary pertaining to the view of life of Vedic man is of fundamental importance for a right understanding of many aspects of the Indian culture, in general, not all colleagues seem to be convinced of what in the eyes of the present author is necessity, viz. to disregard, in studying this vocabulary, that is in interpreting the Vedic texts which are our only source of knowledge, neither the conclusions of the contemporaneous comparative study of the religions and human cultures nor the results of that branch of linguistics which deals with the meaning of words. Dandekar has also subscribed to the view. He observes: Society cannot be the "stuff" of the supernatural. The way of life may define the character of religion and mythology P.Thieme has also recorded that 'In its manhood, science grows matter of fact. Having come to realise its own limits, it only aims at observing and analysing, at defining and describing data of experience, and arrives at discovering if not the ultimate truth, yet rational connexions between things, if not the cause, yet the conditions of existence.

Visnu, a minor deity in the *Rgveda*, has been celebrated in five-six hymns with some reference in others. The most characteristic achievement is his reaching the three divisions of the earth, the *prthivi*, the *antariksa* and the *div*; hence his unique epithet Trivikrama. So *div* is inextricably linked with Visnu. An attempt has been made to show that, in the period 2400-1900 B.C. the autochthony of the Rgvedic Aryans was Afghanishtan-Baluchistan belt, west of the Sindhu river. Afghanistan being a region of majestically austere mountain

peaks crowned with ever-white glacial or snow caps, it has its own identity and individuality which can hardly be expected in India where the Aryans moved later. Geographical and climatological impact must have been reflected in the *Rgveda*, the literature produced by these Aryans. In a paper it has been shown that the terms *rta*, *sabar-dugha* and *aka* stand for the snow-water, water-reservoir. *Div* has been the snow-capped mountain peak, designated so, because of this shining nature through day and night. It comes out that this whole matter has to be viewed anew. Machonell and Keith have collected all relevant references to *div*, but without getting at the thing itself have translated the term as heaven or sky. *Dvi*, as explained above, is neither heaven, an un-Rgvedic concept, nor sky. It is an indivisible part and parcel of the earth. The Vedic composers have, in unmistakable terms, pointed out the height of the *div*. A source has stated *div* was at a distance to be travelled by a horse rider in 1000 days. The *Pancavimsa Brahmana* has given the altitude of *div* as "distance as equivalent to a thousand Cows standing one on the top of the other". If the height of a cow be taken to be about four feet, on an average, the height of the *div* would be about four thousand feet, from the earth where the composer could stand. The height of the Hindukush passes, in the north-eastern portion, averages to twenty thousand feet and the peaks of (two) Tirich Mir and Sad Istragh peaks is about 25000 feet. The Brahmana's estimate of *div*, is, in its matter of fact description virtually correct, though derisively called "whimsical", an improper and unjust way in assessing an ancient author.

There are innumerable descriptions in the *Rgveda* to show that the *div* flows *divah putusam duhate* (RV. 9.85.9), *divyamudhar* (1.107.5 6), *sanam udhar rihanti* (1.146.2), *dyam madhvah utsah* (1.154.5), *dyavah sasruh apah* (7.101.4), *tvam apah paratasah hinvire* (8.15.8), *vrsnah* (.54.20), *divaspayah didhisana avesam* (10.114.1), *adrim sindhavah sasruh* (1.73.3) etc.

Antariksa, one of the three *bhumis*, divisions of the earth, is also a commonly misunderstood term. The authors of the *Vedic Index*, under the term *div*, translate it as 'air or atmosphere' which is against the specific and positive statements of the *Rgveda*, that *antariksa* lies between the *prthvi* and the *div*. The statement that *antariksa* is atmosphere, is disproved by the assertion of the *Rgveda* (1.155.5) which clarifies that in two of the three regions traversed by Visnu, *man can move* in the two, while in the third, i.e. the *div*, not only man, but other walkers including the birds, cannot.

Etymology of the term *antariksa* is not attempted. An attempt is made here. The root *vis-* means 'to stream, pour out, discharge'. *Isan* (RV. 2.2.9) means 'streaming, pouring out'. *Isita* (RV) means discharge. Monier Williams also records *isika*, *isika* 'a reed, rush, *isa* (RV) 'possessing sap, sappy, juicy and *isira* ind. 'quickly'. The root is Indo-European. It may be suggested that the root with the nominal suffix-sa yields *-iksa* 'watery, juicy'. *Antariksa* would mean a territory associated with water (T.Burrow, the *Sanskrit Language*, p.161). Other developments are *iksu* 'the sugarcane, eyelash', *iksuda*, *iksuta*, *iksumati* and *iksumalini*, names of rivers in later literature. *Aka*, *aka* is 'snow, water'. The compound of *iksu* and *aku* gives the historical family names of the Raghus and Gautama Buddha. *Antariksa* would mean a tract watered, flown with water, covered with snow. It can be suggested this is the mountain tract with 8000 to 15,000 feet altitude. Every year it is invariably watered due to winter snow fall. The snowline stands at 15,000 ft. which is the lower limit of the *div*.

RV 1.154 is, in a way, very important in describing Visnu's traverses. His basic tract, where other creatures can reach with great difficulty is *div*. Stanza 6 of the hymn is:

*ta vam vastuny usmasi gamadhyai
yatra gavo bhurisrnga ayasah,*

atra aha tad urgayasa vrsah

paramam padam ava bhati bhuri //6//

Velankar's translation of the stanza is: We desire to reach those dwellings of you two (O Indra and Visnu), where there are the many-horned and untiring cows. Here surely it is that the highest foot-setp of the wide striding butt (Visnu) richly shines down (on us).

In this interpretation *bhuri* in the term *bhurisrnga* shall mean strong (not many); *vrsnah*, genitive singular, should be of the releaser of water (and not bull), an epithet of Visnu. In the footsteps of Macdonell, Velankar's notes on *gavah* and *bhurisrnga*, as immortal rays of sun and weapons, are misleading, and out of all matter of fact context. A workable interpretation, true to context, would be: We desire to reach those dwelling of you two (Indra and Visnu), where there are many strong-horned bulls, adept in wanderings (*ayasah*). Here surely it is that the highest footstep of the wide-striding Visnu, releaser of waters, shines down (on us).

Now if the autochthony of the Rgvedic composers, as summarised earlier be accepted and if *div* would mean the snowy peaks of mountains, the nature of *vrsan*, Visnu's epithet as a releaser of snow-waters, becomes evident. This provides an indication to the heights of the mountains which is Visnu's special feature.

In the light of these considerations, pertaining to the snowy mountain tracts, an explanation of the strong-horned bulls has to be sought. The animal, which appropriately answers these requirements is the yak which has its habitat on high mountain plateaus. This is further supported by the stanza 4 of RV.1.163. The habitat of the yak is described thus—"They say that this is your great birth-place' *te ahuh paramani janitram*. Sources of dictionaries and encyclopaedias point to yak's habitat to be Tibet. Yak (*Bos Grunniens*) is large massively built ox, family Bovidae (order Artiodactyla), of the Tibetan

plateaus, 4,300-6,100 metres (14,000-20,000 feet) above sea level.

The source adds that wild yaks live in large herds of females, young bulls and calves, the mature bulls staying together in smaller groups. Yaks graze on grass and require much water. They are said to eat snow in winter. Domestic yaks, which breed freely with domestic cattle, are piebald black and white. They are used as pack and saddle animals in the plateaus and mountains. Domesticated yaks are also kept for milk and beef. The hair is used in making cords and ropes.

Yak is found in the Gorno-Badakhshan territory of Tajikistan, on the bank of the Oxus river. Indeed, no point in the region is below 2000 metres. The climate is marked by its severity and exceptional dryness. Any one unused to conditions here will immediately suffer severe palpitations if he tries to run because air is so thin. Perhaps only the yaks—fantastically strange animals with their long-haired coat, cowlike head, camel-like hump and horse-like tail, feel really at home here.

In Wakhan, extreme northeast corner of Afghanistan, adjacent to the Gorno-Badakhshan, herds of Yak (*Ghijraw*) are met with. The yak is to the inhabitants of the Pamir what the reindeer is to the Laplanders in northern Europe. Like the elephant it possesses a clear knowledge of what will bear its weight. Should a fall of snow close a pass to man and horse, a score of yaks driven ahead answer the purpose of the pioneers. The yak usually frequents the mountain slopes and their level summits. If the snow on the elevated flats lies too deep for him to crop the herbage, he rolls himself down the slopes and eats his way up again. The heat of summer sends the animal to what is termed the old snow, that is the region of eternal snow. The yaks are gregarious and set wolves, which abound here, at defiance. Despite its cumbersome appearance, the yak is very sure-footed and an expert climber, sometimes going as high as 20,000 feet.

Etymologically yak relates to Tibetan *gyak*, which is presumably Sanskrit *go-ka*. New Persian equivalent is *ghujgaw*. This agrees well with the home of yak in Pamir region, the roof of the world "*bam-i-Duniya*".

In respect of the presence of yak in the *Rgveda*, another hymn 1.163 deserves our attention. From the milieu of the hymn, there are reasons to argue that the hymn deals with a yak. Sayana has taken the animal to be *asva* 'horse'. Sayana's basis is *Brhad-Devata* (4.27) which says that three hymns 161, 162 and 163 of the first Mandala describe the horses to be sacrificed (*medhya asva*). The next stanza (4.28) observes that they were domesticated or wild, *niyukta* and *aniykta*, translated by Macdonell as "the yoked and unyoked". Here the word *haya* is used for the horse, *asva*.

Hymn 1.163 speaks of an animal to be slaughtered. Stanzas 2 and 10 use the term *asva* for the animal. Stanza 8 used the word *gavah* (1.163.8) which is definitely not a horse. Next stanza describes the animal as *hiranya-srngā* which again, is not a horse. And lastly stanza 11 categorically says that its horns are well-grounded, *tava srngani visthita*.

Yupa

The victims to be offered in the sacrifice are tied to a wooden post. It is called *Yupa*. This post is always erect and it is not offered in the fire as oblation. It should stand for the sacrifice who is desirous of cattle. The post is connected with the *Pasus* (cattle or victim). It would not serve as food to the gods. Regarding the necessity of *Yupa*, the AB (2.3) gives a myth : The cattle having been brought at the sacrificial chamber for killing began to dispute with gods, "You shall not kill us". Then the gods saw this *Yupa* and used it as a thunderbolt against them. Fearing it the *pasus* came to the gods and even today come up to it. Therefore, they serve the gods as their food thus being killed in the sacrifice. It is standing as the symbol of the thunderbolt. The Hotr should throw it

after one who is desirous of the heaven, thinking, “The post is the sacrifice, the strew the sacrificer”. The sacrificer having come into existence from Agni will go to the heaven.

We see in this myth the following points : (1) The animals brought for killing in the sacrifice are unwilling to be killed, even as sometimes Agni or Yajna is unwilling to carry the oblations to the gods. (2) The gods compelled the victims to serve as their food under the threat of thunderbolt in the form of the Yupa. The Yupa therefore stands as the rod of punishment (Danda). The standing post is virtually the lord of the cattle, Pasupati. It may be that the idea of Yupa standing erect, chastising victims would be the foreunner, of the god Siva (in the form of Linga) being the lord of pasus, bringing under control all victims. (3) The Yupa is the sacrifice, the stewn darbha grass and the sacrificer. The sacrificer has become a divine being through Agni and now the Yupa would lead him to the heaven. There is difference of opinion as to whether the Yupa is to be offered in the fire or not. According to one opinion it is not to be offered as food to the fire. According to the other, however, it is to be given as offering. Adhvaryu throws the Yupa in the fire, if the sacrifice desires the heaven. The former sacrificers did not throw it in the fire after the animal are led to it; for Yajamana is the post, darbha grass and Agni. By offering the Yupa in the fire, the sacrificer joins Agni the womb of the gods and being possessed of a golden body (*hiranyasarira*) he goes to the heaven. Thus the Yupa is the symbol of the sacrifice, with compelling power and with ability to lead the sacrificer to the heaven (AB.2.3). As a compromise between the old and new practice about the offering and not offering Yupa, there came a rite of offering the shavings (svaru) in the fire. These are equivalent to the actual offering of the Yupa in the fire. So the sacrificer gets what is obtainable by throwing Yupa in the fire and still it remains standing (AB 2.3).



This dictionary has been compiled by a leading Hindu spiritual teacher and eminent vedic scholar *Swami Parmeshwaranand* of Haridwar (U.P.). He has written several books on hindu religion and translated many important religions scriptures into english. He has also conducted several seminars, and work shops where many reputed theologists from all over the world took participation.

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